

# IN THESE TIMES

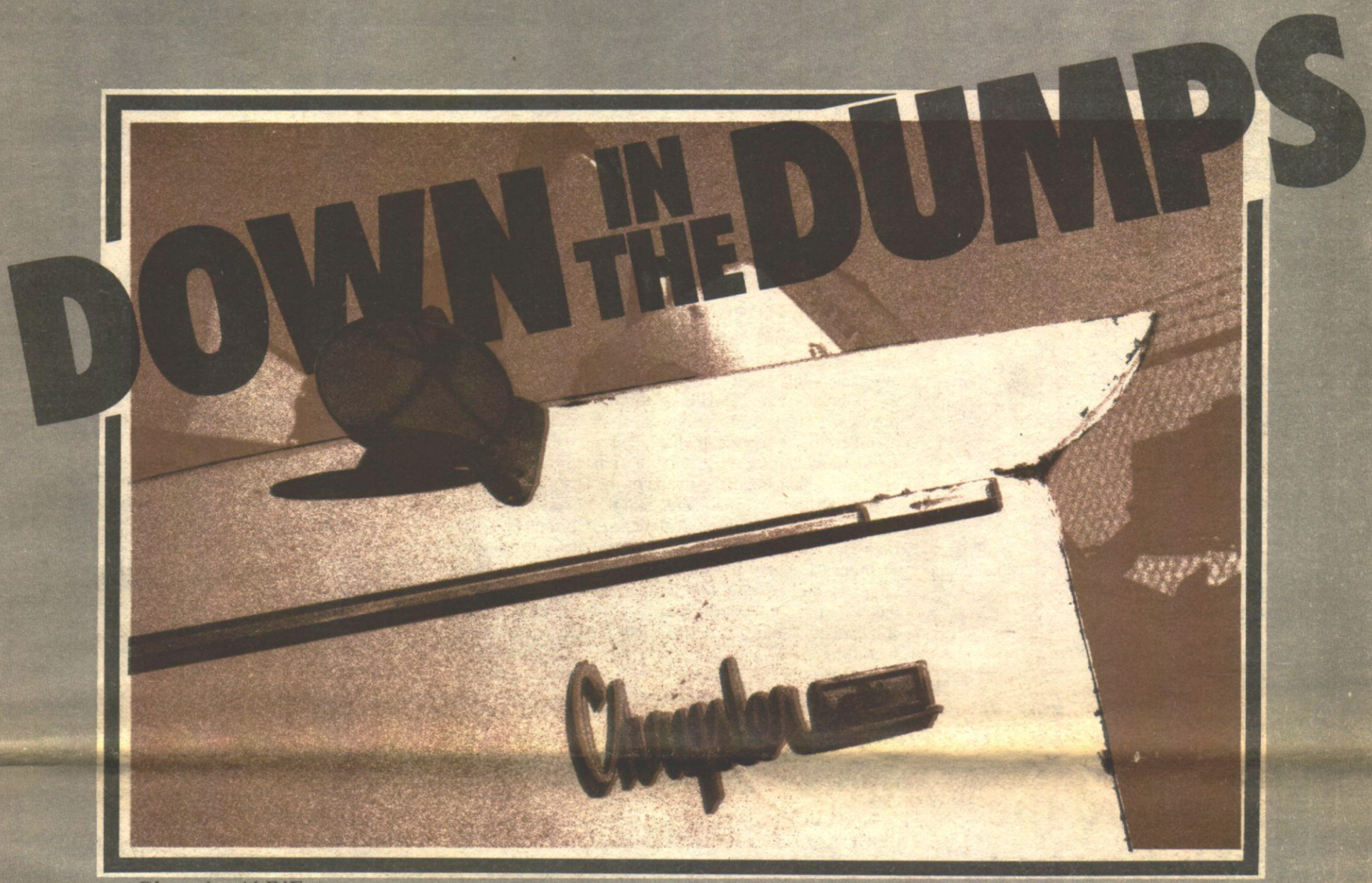


**BREAKING  
AWAY**  
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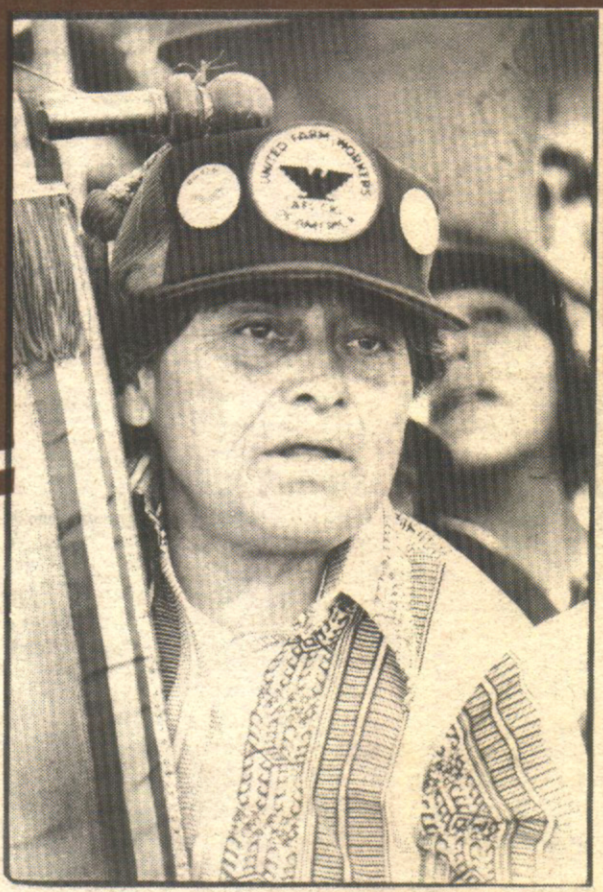
August 22-28, 1979

70 Cents



*Photo by Al DiFranco*

**Farmworkers' Victory!**



Robert Gumpert



# THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Outgoing political secretary Richard Healey talks with successor Richard Kunes.

## NAM and the revolutionary hernia

"The question is whether NAM will join its comrades on the left in oblivion or whether it will build a multi-tendency socialist movement," Stanley Aronowitz, author of *False Promises* and member of the New American Movement's national committee, said.

Aronowitz was speaking at NAM's eighth annual convention, held Aug. 8-12 in Milwaukee. The issues were the same that have dominated the past six conventions: whether, and, if so, under what strictures, NAM chapters should participate in electoral politics and the labor movement.

But a new issue heightened the old debates: whether to accept a proposal from the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) to begin merger talks.

The DSOC proposal crystallized a crisis that has been building in NAM for six years.

NAM was founded in Nov. 1971. Its founders, who included Michael Lerner, James Weinstein, Staughton Lynd, Harry Boyte and Roberta Lynch, sought to build a socialist organization that would reflect the New Left's commitment to democracy—and its rejection of both Communism and anti-Communism, while avoiding its inwardness, its glorification of Third World revolutionaries and its substitution of militancy for substance.

But NAM's founders were not sufficiently prepared to deal with another important aspect of New Left politics: a distrust of political parties and the labor movement derived from the experience of the anti-war movement. Most NAM members came to embrace a mystical faith in direct action and in mass movements, real or imagined, outside the electoral arena. This placed them resolutely on the margins of politics in the '70s.

NAM members, who were largely drawn from the college-educated survivors of the New Left, also adopted much New Left moralism and radical rhetoric. They saw themselves as "revolutionaries" or "professional revolutionaries." In the name of Marxism, they couched their debates in an arcane and abstract terminology; and they retained at best a tangential interest in current politics and labor.

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Notwithstanding, NAM survived, with a membership that has gravitated between 300 and 500 activists in 30-40 chapters concentrated in the Northeast, Midwest, and Far West. In 1979, through the institution of associate memberships, its total climbed to 875. Some of NAM's long-standing chapters in places like Dayton, the San Francisco Bay Area, and Pittsburgh have carved out local reputations through utility campaigns, the defense of gay and women's rights, socialist schools, and electoral work. Through the recruitment of ex-Communist leaders Dorothy Healey, Benn Dobbs and Saul Wellman, NAM has also created unusually diverse chapters in Los Angeles and Detroit.

The growing political maturity of these chapters, along with the steady emergence of a non-socialist left in the late '70s, strengthened the opposition in NAM to New Left sectarianism. Where proponents of any electoral activity were a tiny minority in 1973, about half of NAM now countenances electoral work, even within the Democratic party. Where unions themselves were taboo as late as 1974, some NAM chapters have done coalition work with unions, and some NAM members have become union officials.

But NAM still remains mired in the sectarian side of its New Left past. It has been plagued by periodic invasions from or revivals of the worst New Left sectarianism. In 1972, NAM ousted the International Socialists (IS); in 1975, it had to confront a Marxist-Leninist caucus, led by recent Harvard graduates who wanted a tour of America's factories. And in 1979, it has had to face an August 7th caucus, led largely by ex-Trotskyist members and wide-eyed collegians.

### Revolution vs. reform.

DSOC is, in some respects, a mirror image of NAM. It has a strong national presence, where NAM has remained largely local. Its strongest chapters are on the East Coast, where NAM is weakest. Its roots are not in the New Left, but in the American Socialist Party. Its membership is diverse, including many trade union officials and Democratic party activists. Its focus has been on influencing the left-wing of the Democratic party.

But in the last four years, DSOC has attempted to slough off both its more strident anti-Communist heritage and its single-minded commitment to nationalize Democratic party politics. It has tried to build local chapters and to establish links with citizens' groups, women and minority groups, and the anti-nuclear movement. It has had an influx of New Left members, including NAM founder Harry Boyte. Its proposal to NAM that the two organizations begin merger talks reflected an interest in encouraging local activism.

DSOC's membership has grown from 200 in 1973 to 4000 today, with about 1000 of these members locally active. As many NAM members realized, any merger between the two organizations would be dominated by DSOC.

At the convention, the August 7th Caucus attacked DSOC for its membership in the Socialist International (which they referred to as the "Second International"), its participation in the Democratic party, its failure to encourage rank-and-file revolts in the labor movement, its "token anti-sexism," and most important, its lack of commitment to socialism and revolution.

Former *Seven Days* editor Joanne Barkan enunciated the August 7th position. There would be two main movements in the '80s, Barkan asserted, a "revolutionary" movement, hopefully led by NAM, and a "reformist" movement, led by DSOC. Barkan counseled friendly relations between the two movements, but warned against confusing them. Typically, Barkan's talk was devoid of any reference to current politics, in particular the development of a non-socialist "reformist" left that considerably exceeds DSOC in

numbers and power. And DSOC's "reformist" or "social-democratic" character was merely asserted.

Other August 7th members filled in the blanks. DSOC had, they claimed, a "gradualist orientation toward achieving socialism"—another assertion whose truth or relevance was never demonstrated. "If there is no difference between a revolutionary rupture and gradualism, then there is nothing to do but collapse," New Yorker Bob Masters said.

Chicagoan Marilyn Katz, one of NAM's three-person leadership, claimed that Barkan's NAM-led revolutionary movement could contain "100,000s of potential revolutionaries." Katz included in this category IS (down to about 110 members after their latest split), the United League of Northern Mississippi (a civil rights organization that is as likely to join the Knights of Columbus as to join NAM), numerous socialist-feminist collectives (????), and the Puerto Rican Socialist party (which lost many of its leaders after a disastrous split). Other August 7th members added the Black Panther party to this list.

### Joint talks, not merger.

The August 7th Caucus commanded about a third of the 380 delegates at the convention. About a fourth of the delegates stood solidly opposed to them on all counts, while the rest situated themselves uncomfortably in the middle.

Some national NAM leaders welcomed DSOC's merger proposal, although they became reluctant to state their position clearly in the face of the August 7th Caucus's fury. Some California NAM members became joint NAM-DSOC members this year, and more are expected to do so after the convention.

In the debate on the DSOC proposal, Aronowitz derided the Caucus's contention that there was a "mass movement to NAM's left." Ben Dobbs from Los Angeles, Jim Schoch from San Francisco, and John Cameron from Champaign-Urbana argued that NAM's main goal should be to build with DSOC a socialist presence within a larger anti-corporate reform movement.

The largest group of NAM members did not support an imminent merger, but saw no other hope of building a larger socialist movement. Unlike the August 7th movement, they did not question DSOC's socialist credentials, but they did question DSOC's tie to the Socialist International, its commitment to socialist feminism, and its labor and Democratic party perspectives. They hope that talks with DSOC will strengthen the part of DSOC that is most like NAM and result in a combined organization that is less objectionable to them.

NAM leader Roberta Lynch expressed this point of view. She called for joint talks, not necessarily directed towards merger. She admitted that she couldn't imagine joining an organization that would back Ted Kennedy in 1980, but hoped that out of the joint talks DSOC's left caucus could be strengthened.

The adopted resolution reflected Lynch's position.

### Early Congregationalists.

While the DSOC proposal may eventually shake NAM out of its New Leftism, its immediate effect, evidenced by the convention, was to draw most of NAM deeper into moralism and posturing. Both sides of the debate were constantly trumpeting themselves as "revolutionaries." NAM's socialist feminism, which has had some positive effect both in the women's movement and NAM's internal practices, was used as much to designate a member of the revolutionary elect as to denote a real politics.

There were frequent laudatory references to Che Guevara, Rosa Luxemburg, Lenin, and Antonio

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## IN THESE TIMES

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IN THESE TIMES

# Chrysler dug its own grave

By David Moberg

**S**HOULD WE, THE PUBLIC, SAVE Chrysler? Six governors and various members of Congress from states that would suffer if the troubled corporation defaulted have asked Chrysler's plea for federal aid. The United Auto Workers supports the union's plea, but asked for government money to buy 30 percent public control rather than the special tax credit Chrysler wants. Treasury Sec. C. William Miller has announced that the Carter administration may provide a \$500 million loan guarantee if Chrysler agrees to a reasonable plan for survival.

The UAW argues that there would be heavy public costs if Chrysler went under. That has to be spent now to preserve jobs, prevent deterioration and gain some control over the number three auto company's products. UAW president Douglas Fraser stressed that it wasn't Chrysler's actions that convinced him, but the 150,000 Chrysler workers and their families. Other advocates of some bailout argue that the United competition in autos would be saved if Chrysler were saved.

Without the aid Chrysler probably won't fail completely. Sadler this year, one auto economist said, Chrysler's chairman John J. Riccardo was growing about the corporation's strong ratio of debt to equity, which even now is better than Lockheed had before its bailout, and supply of working capital. Also, it is worth remembering that Chrysler's record profit year came in 1976, one year after its previous record loss, and the same turnaround is possible again. Any company selling around one million cars and trucks could presumably find a way, however drastic, to reorganize and scale down its operations to become viable. Yet even such reorganization is a rough, jolting way out of the mess that Chrysler managers have made.

Some private aid came to Chrysler when Household Finance Corp. agreed to buy \$500 million in accounts receivable from the Chrysler Financial subsidiary and GM agreed to buy \$250 million. That will ease short-term borrowing problems that developed after Chrysler Financial lost its credit rating, but will deprive Chrysler of longer term income that GM and HFC now pick up. Meanwhile, Chrysler revealed that its sales in the first 10 days of August were off 35 percent from last year, far more than the 15 and 18 percent for GM and Ford.

In applying for the special one billion dollar tax credit against future possible income Chrysler had selected the financing mechanism and the course through Congress that would be most likely to preserve the corporation in its present form. Corporate lobbyists, starting their work months ago, wanted to avoid what they call the "hooks" that tend to go with loan guarantees.

Yet the public, if it foots the bill, has a stake in imposing a great number of such "hooks." Therefore, it is important to understand how Chrysler got into its problems to determine what prescriptions are needed, whether they're imposed as terms of a loan guarantee or through direct public ownership and control of a segment of the corporation.

Chrysler, of course, has stressed the added burden of government regulations. It claims that fuel efficiency and emissions-control regulations cost them \$620 per car, compared to \$240 for GM. Other pro-business, anti-regulation spokespeople have used Chrysler's plight as an excuse for an overall scaling down of regulations. A study by the UAW's John McManisbaum that regulations cost \$366 to the cost of the average car.

Even if there were no more regulations,



UAW President Douglas Fraser (right), and UAW Chrysler division vice-president, Mark Stepp, at a press conference where Fraser outlined the union's proposals.

only account for one-fourth the average car price increase since the federal standards were first introduced. Experts in the field also contend they're exaggerated. The total cost to the consumer, not the corporation, is under \$500 per car on the average, according to Barry Felice of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration. Clarence Ditlow, director of the Center for Auto Safety, says that the high figures don't take into account the savings that come as companies learn how to meet the standards more efficiently or replace one system with another. Felice agrees that Chrysler may have a slightly higher burden per car because of its smaller production run, but estimates the disadvantage compared to GM at \$50 per car or less.

Of course, any full social accounting has to recognize the benefits in better health and prevention of injuries resulting from the safety and environmental regulations, which translated into dollars far surpasses the cost on the auto. Also, companies smaller than Chrysler in Japan and Europe have met the standards, often in innovative ways (such as Honda's stratified charge engine that not only cheaply and effectively cuts pollution but also increases gas mileage

considerably).

Industry officials admit that American consumers are demanding efficiency standards for cars far above the current government mandated level. "You could make a credible case," one auto economist argues, "that if it weren't for regulations the auto companies would still be making big cars and the import share would be 40 percent rather than 20 percent." Many of the changes made for fuel efficiency, mainly cutting down size and weight, cost little more than what the companies used to spend for annual model changes, except that the consumer now gets a more efficient car rather than tail fins. Chrysler now can't find the money to build small, efficient, clean and safe cars, but it managed to spend \$450 million in 1974-5 to redesign its big cars, Ditlow says. Considering how poorly the auto companies have responded both to market demand and social needs, there is a case to be made that the public should have been exercising more, not less, control in recent years.

Chrysler's real problems stem not so much from regulation as from the course chosen by the American automobile industry after World War II. Ignoring safety, the environment, efficiency and qual-

ity in favor of exaggerated styling and superfluous power in the quest for high profit and preservation of existing capital stock tied into old technologies, the industry ran up against environmental and consumer safety movements, international competition and the energy crisis. Chrysler suffered most in the reluctant adaptation of the industry to the new conditions, especially because of unresponsive bad management.

In the 1960s, again in 1971—the year of the Pinto and Vega—and again in recent years, Chrysler has either failed to introduce or to emphasize strongly a small, efficient car. At first they relied on imports from Japanese companies. Now they are limited to selling 300,000 of their small Omni/Ho van this year and next because they chose to buy engines from Volkswagen rather than build their own.

Corporate officials throughout the '70s have thought they would finesse the small car demand by introducing a new line of big cars with big profit margins and then use the money to build small cars. But the first energy crunch hit in 1972 just as they introduced a new line of large cars. The same thing happened again this winter, when Chrysler also lost much of its lucrative light truck and van market as gasoline prices soared.

The one wise move they made, introduction of the compact Volare/Aspen in 1976, backfired as quality problems and recalls drove away buyers. The Volare/Aspen share of the U.S. market dropped from 6.5 percent in the spring of 1977 to 3.1 percent in the first quarter of this year. For a company that sank from 12 percent of the market in 1977 to 10.7 percent this year, the Volare/Aspen decline explains a lot. But those quality problems can be traced in part to the huge layoffs of engineers in 1975 that were occasioned by the combined recession and previous poor planning by the company in sticking with big cars.

There have been other problems. Chrysler made a bid for a share of the world auto production with investments that mainly proved unsound, except for the Mexico operation. Chrysler also tried to match GM and Ford with a wide number of models (except in the subcompact category, where they had only the "captive imports"), instead of following very common advice to concentrate on specific, well-chosen market segments.

Continued on page 8

## Dodge Main closing threatens Hamtramck



Workers leaving the Dodge Main plant in Hamtramck, MI.

Chrysler's woes have already hit hard at Dodge Main, the old, multi-story, two-line assembly plant in Hamtramck, an enclave within Detroit. A thriving plant employing 10,000 workers a few years ago and as many as 8,800 late last year, Dodge Main is now down to 2,400 workers on one line and one shift. By next summer, the corporation says, the plant will be shut down, leading to an estimated permanent loss of 3,200 workers and to a severe blow to Hamtramck's tax revenues.

The overall corporate problems have somewhat overshadowed the crisis at Dodge Main, which gained fame in the late 50s as the home of the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement. "We're still wishing that the corporation would keep it open," says a vice-president of the Hamtramck NAACP. "Now you hear more about scaling the corporation down." Some workers are angry. "When you see the plant being closed, it's a blow to the community," says a worker. "It's a blow to the economy."

ally the plant was used for truck and van production. Since the May 30 announcement of Chrysler's intent to close, there have been three major demonstrations, starting with about 3,000 protestors and then dwindling. The Hamtramck NAACP, local politicians and various left groups have been active in campaigns to keep the plant open.

The UAW's Chrysler division vice-president, Marc Stepp, says that the union hopes in current negotiations to convince the corporation that "rather than close it entirely they should keep some production there." One possibility is using the plant for storage and spare parts, but that would still mean drastic cuts in employment. Another possibility is using the plant for the production of a new line of cars. But for neither the union nor any other group is there any doubt that the plant's closure would be a severe blow to the community.



## IN SHORT



## Justice files suit against Rizzo

A civil rights suit was filed this week against Philadelphia's Mayor Frank Rizzo and the city's police department for "wide spread and systematic police brutality."

The U.S. Justice Department, in an unprecedented suit, charged the Philadelphia Police Department with violating the civil rights of every minority of the city, but especially blacks and Hispanics.

The suit asked that Rizzo, who was police chief before becoming mayor of the city, put an end to the brutality. The Justice Department also requested that federal funds be cut until reforms are made.

The fourth largest police force in the country, Philadelphia has a history of brutality. More than 1,100 civilian complaints are registered annually and 75 people are shot by police each year.

Court findings in pretrial hearings found that "intentional violence and

coercion by detectives" was a common practice of officers involved in interrogation of suspects.

In defending the police department's innocence, Rizzo called the suit "complete hogwash." He told the press on Sunday, "We welcome it (the suit)." Vowing to fight the suit he said, "No one is going to take advantage of this great police department."

Sheldon Albert, City Solicitor, said, "It's outrageous. This is the kind of suit that does nothing but give aid and comfort to persons breaking the law."

The suit came as a result of an investigation of the Philadelphia Police Department ordered by retiring attorney General Griffin Bell after a shootout last year between police and a Philadelphia group called Move. (A full description of the suit and the police scene in Philadelphia will be reported next week by Greg Moyer.)

## NATION

### AFSCME brass squares off

NEW YORK—Yet another conflict erupted this week between the President of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Union (AFSCME), Jerry Wurf, and Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District Council 37.

Gotbaum, an unannounced candidate for the presidency of the union, was ordered by Wurf to refrain from having contact with anyone in any AFSCME local or council outside District Council 37.

Gotbaum told the *New York Times* Wurf's attempts to silence him are not isolated efforts at domination and control of the union.

Defying Wurf, Gotbaum went to New Orleans early this month to meet with union members of Louisiana locals who he said were not pleased with the "authoritarian" leadership of Wurf. "Members shall suffer no impairment of freedom of speech concerning the operations of this union," he said, adding, "Active discussion of union affairs shall be encouraged and protected within this organization."

Gotbaum, who has continued to hold off a formal announcement that he is a candidate for the presidency of the union, said he thought Wurf was nervous about criticism leveled at him about his leadership.

"He can't administer the union," said Gotbaum. The real difference between us is the way he's running the union. "I like to work with people," he said, "and Wurf likes to work them over."

### CIA domestic spying revealed

Satellite photography was used by the CIA to analyze domestic disturbances according to documents released last month.

The top secret National Reconnaissance Office (NRO), an agency whose existence was unknown until it was inadvertently mentioned in a 1973 Senate report, operates all overhead reconnaissance programs for the entire intelligence community.

Known as the "Family Jewels," the CIA documents were prepared in response to James Schlesinger's 1973 requests for reports on all activities which might be considered to be outside the CIA's legislative charter.

Obtained by The Center for National Security Studies, under the Freedom of Information Act, the documents reveal that the CIA monitored the foreign radio broadcasts of anti-war activist Jane Fonda and former Attorney General Ramsey Clark and collected intelligence on the possible foreign connections of the anti-war movement.

In addition, the "Family Jewels" contain clear evidence that the CIA knowingly exceeded its charter by conducting domestic investigations of citizens involved in the anti-war movement of the 60s.



## Machines will put farm workers out

The use of new harvest machinery on California fruit and vegetable farms will eliminate 40,000 jobs by 1982 and as many as 128,000 by 1987, according to a study commissioned by the Department of Labor, and prepared by the California Institute for Rural Studies.

Paul Barnett, a research associate with the Institute and one of the authors of the study said, "The use of wine grape pickers, shake-catch peach harvesters and electronic tomato sorters will cause most of the job loss. The jobs expected to be lost in the next decade are part of a long-term decline in farm employment." He added "with overall levels of unemployment, there are few opportunities for farm laborers to find new jobs. Without new training programs and new economic development programs there will be great hardships for those whose jobs are eliminated by new machines."

Only machinery that has proven commercially feasible in fruit and vegetable harvesting was considered in making the employment projections, according to the study. The estimates of the future adoption of the machinery were based on a study of recent trends in the rate at which farmers have been purchasing new machines.

IN SHORT is written by Laura Cianci except when otherwise indicated.

## WORLD



Tehran demonstrators

## Leftists battle Islamic militants

More than 160 people were injured when Islamic militants clashed with leftists in the bloodiest rioting since the overthrow of the shah. Hit by rocks, iron bars, chains and bottles, the injured were treated in seven hospitals. The fighting was stopped after two hours by Islamic guards firing tear gas and shots into the air above the 4,000 rioters.

Sunday's march, which involved more than 100,000 leftists, was organized in protest of the closing last week of the daily newspaper *Ayandegan* and the satirical *Ahangar* weekly. Heavily outnumbered by the leftists, the Moslem militants fought the demonstrators all along their route, from Tehran University to Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan's office, in attempts to break up the press freedom march.

## Neo-Nazis on the rise in West Berlin

On August 11, on the day after a West Berlin court sentenced ten neo-Nazis to

prison terms on a charge of forming a secret chapter of the Nazi Party, arsonists set fire to the home and business of a Jewish restaurant owner—another in an escalating series of violent acts by neo-Nazis.

Daubing the walls with anti-semitic signs and warning "Jews get out," neo-Nazis poured gasoline into the building and torched it.

There were no injuries but the two-story house was completely gutted. The owner, Gunter Alon, and his family were away on vacation and the restaurant was closed.

Judge Wolfgang Heuller of a Berlin district court said in sentencing the 10 neo-Nazis that he wanted to "set a signal for all to see to make sure that the Nazi gas chamber party can never raise its head."

The Nazi Party has been barred since 1945 and stringent Allied laws still in force in West Berlin make it a crime to commit neo-Nazi acts or organize party groups. Judge Heuller sentenced the main defendant to three years in prison and two others to 14-18 months. The remaining seven defendants received suspended terms and fines ranging up to \$500.

The number of neo-Nazi offenses and activities in the city has nearly tripled, to almost 300, according to Manfred Kittlaus, the West Berlin police inspector in charge of politically motivated crimes.



# IN THE NATION

## LABOR

# Farmworker convention hails victory

By Sam Kushner

SALINAS, CA.

**A**S THE FOURTH CONSTITUTIONAL convention of the AFL-CIO United Farm Workers droned to a conclusion and as hundreds of delegates were preparing to clean up the gymnasium where the day long session had been held, president Cesar Chavez asked for quiet so that all could hear an important announcement.

What followed was the most important moment of the convention: It evoked bedlam from the exhausted delegates, many of whom had been among those who had marched 150 miles for 11 days from San Francisco and others who had marched 65 miles through the Salinas Valley in six days preceding the convention.

The announcement that brought them to their feet, cheering and shouting, was that the largest tomato grower in the nation—Meyer Tomato—had just reached an agreement with the union. In what was described as the best contract the UFW has yet gotten, Meyer gave in on every major point. The tomato ranch had broken away from the rest of the vegetable growers who had steadfastly refused to come to an agreement with the UFW since the strike in the Imperial Valley lettuce fields began in mid-January.

There was some indication after the convention that the tomato grower's settlement might open the door for a major settlement of other lettuce and vegetable firms, who thus far have stubbornly resisted major union demands. Carl Maggio, president of Sun Harvest Inc., the nation's largest lettuce grower, conceded that the Meyer settlement "could be a positive step" towards ending the eight month old strike.

Under the old contract the common labor rate for farm workers in lettuce

was \$3.70 an hour. The new Meyer contract provides for five dollars an hour. In addition, for the first time, UFW won a cost of living clause.

The spectre of mechanization haunts field workers, especially in tomatoes. When Jerry Cohen, the UFW's chief negotiator, told the delegates that "no one will lose their jobs because of mechanization during the [three year] life of this contract," loud cheers came from the delegates. In addition, the union won a demand to have paid union representatives working in the fields to police contract terms. Other growers have resisted this.

Additionally the growers have been trying to cripple the UFW's political action program by insisting that union members in good standing be limited to the payment of dues. Meyer retreated from this and the UFW is now the sole determinant of the good standing of its members.

It is estimated that the economic package for the 350 Meyer workers comes to 43 per cent over three years. Other growers claim that they have offered the UFW a 34 per cent package. When the strike began agricultural firms insisted on following the Carter administration formula. They said that payment of anything more than seven per cent per year would put them out of business.

The convention was expected to be anti-climactic, coming as it did on the heels of two massive marches in Northern California and following a huge rally on August 11 in a large field next to the union headquarters in Salinas.

But when thousands of farm workers marched through the streets of this city with the lead contingent including union president Cesar Chavez, ILWU president Jim Herman, state AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer John Henning and Governor Jerry Brown it was clearly a solidarity



Farmworker Pres. Cesar Chavez.



Longshoreman Pres. Herman.

gathering typical of the UFW at its strongest.

Labor contingents were there from throughout much of the state. Most importantly, of course, was the presence of thousands of striking field workers. The local police estimated that between 12 and 15 thousand persons participated in the demonstration. The UFW spokesperson, Marshall Ganz, put the figure at 25,000.

A possible confrontation of presidential candidates was avoided when Sen. Edward Kennedy (Dem.-Mass.) privately informed the UFW that he would not be able to be present. But the presence of Brown added a strong political touch to the rally. Having just gone through several controversies with organized labor in California, during which unionists joined others in overriding the governor's veto on pay raises for public employees, the stage was set for Brown to make a pro-labor pitch.

"Ten years ago," Brown reminded his audience, "I marched with the farm workers in the Coachella Valley and not too long after that the power of your movement resulted in victory and great success. Five years later you marched again and with great success and the farm labor law was passed into law in California giving you the tools that you need. Four years later the struggle is still very much alive. The power of the farm workers, the AFL-CIO and the ILWU with your other allies presents a united front for the rights of farm workers to make decent wages. That cause far from being old is as young as the people and their energy here today."

"My presence today together with so many of your friends indicates that the influence of the United Farm Workers spreads far beyond the actual members themselves, to sympathizers in the fifty states and in fifty countries across the world."

Despite the rousing reception he got from the workers, Brown got a cold shoulder from the labor leaders at the rally. None of the union officials who addressed the rally made mention of the governor's presence. Perhaps sharpest of all was Henning, who, while pledging the support of organized labor to the UFW, also made mention of political matters. He reminded the farm workers that union labor is seeking to support liberals who are consistent and remain constantly with labor's cause.

Henning was one of the main architects of the coalition that succeeded in overriding Brown's veto of adequate wage increases for public workers. In conversations with reporters and others Henning denounced Brown and indicated that his pledge of support to the farm workers was hypocritical.

At the union convention, the day fol-

lowing the rally, Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden, chairman of the Committee for Economic Democracy, pledged they would carry the union's boycott message to the fifty cities they will tour this fall. The Fonda-Hayden tour had been announced earlier but to the delegates at the convention it created the impression that the main goal of the tour was to enroll support for the union's cause.

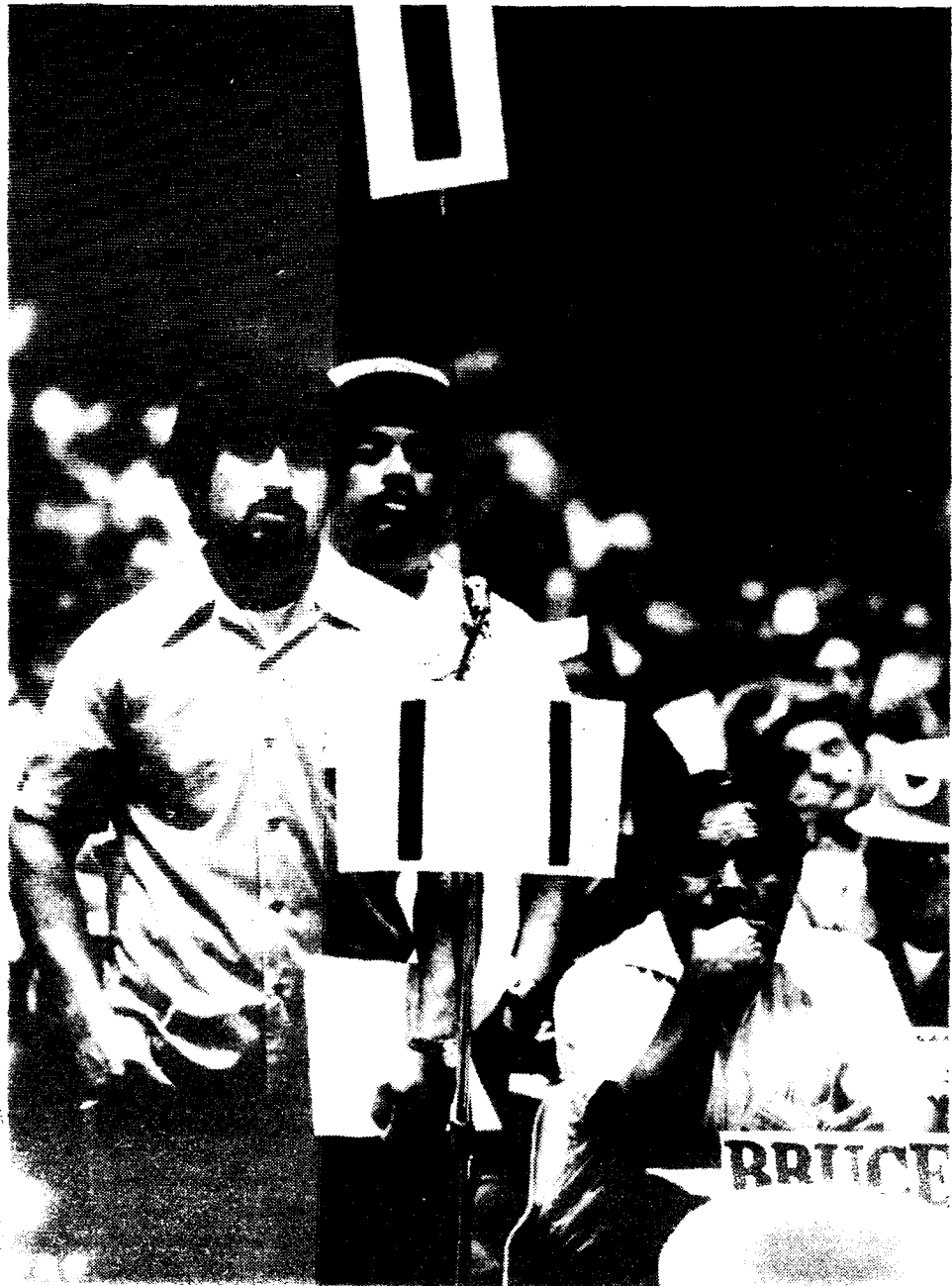
At the convention the expected announcement of a general strike in lettuce was not forthcoming. Thousands left the fields to join the march but only six Salinas ranches have been called out on strike. Twenty others have been shut down as workers joined in demonstrations, but the growers have indicated they would again start up work this week. The workers however have authorized strike action and are only awaiting the union leadership's sanction.

Meanwhile the delegates approved action to launch the boycott aimed mainly at Sun Harvest. Cesar Chavez announced that the union is preparing to send out 400 organizers to key cities and regions on the boycott. The convention described the United Brands Company (of which Sun Harvest is a subsidiary), as "the leader of the pack that has spearheaded the growers' drive to defeat the strike and break the union." It called for boycotts of products of United Brands subsidiaries including Chiquita Bananas, A & W Root Beer, John Morrell Meat Products and Sun World label lettuce.

At the convention the delegates elected Frank Ortiz as vice president to replace Eliseo Medina, who has left the union. Also David Martinez was elected to the executive board to replace Mack Lyons who has also resigned from the UFW.

It is ironic that Jerry Cohen, former general counsel of the UFW who now heads its negotiations in the Salinas area, was the hero of the closing moment of the convention. He and other lawyers left their full time jobs in the union following a major battle over voluntarism versus salary for lawyers and other union officials. It was a bitter fight and Chavez's voluntarism position won out by a bare five to four vote. Medina and Lyons were part of the minority.

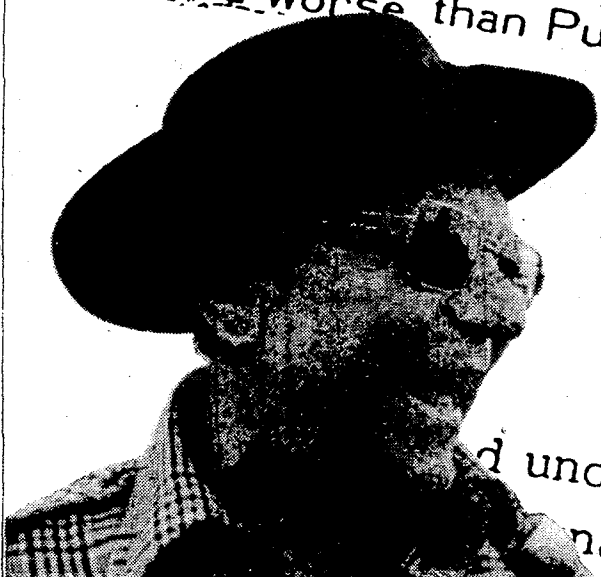
Now the union has set up a new legal staff and some of the former union attorneys are working for the UFW on a case by case basis. At the convention Chavez told the delegates that Medina and Lyons had left the union "for personal reasons." Resolutions were adopted thanking the old legal staff for its work over the years. It was suggested that means be found to have Cohen remain full time with the UFW. Judging by the reception he got from the delegates it would appear that this was the overwhelming sentiment.





## WORLD AIRWAYS STRIKE

DD) This order is effective immediately and any individual violating or ignoring this direct instruction will wish that he or she had been in Hell 24 hours before his or her act of commission. Any man or woman who disobeys this directive will be answerable to me on an eyeball-to-eyeball basis and this experience will be in lieu of and worse than Purgatory.



*Edward J. Daly*

President and  
Chairman of the Board

understood. I shall comply.  
nature

By Al DiFranco

Teamsters say this July 9 memo, warning against talking to the press, was prompted by the DC-10 controversy. Daly's memos to the union weren't as polite.

## Would you fly this man's DC-10s?

WITH SCAB CREWS FLYING "boat people" out of Southeast Asia, Teamsters forced to cross picket lines under a no strike clause to fly potentially unsafe airplanes maintained by supervisory help, mass firings of non-union employees and written threats and insults for everybody, workers and union officials are wondering if World Airways charter airline's owner will scuttle his commercial charter business with the help of the Pentagon rather than deal with growing unionism.

At press time, Teamsters planned to sue the company in 9th Federal District court at San Francisco over the safety of World DC-10s and DC-8s worked on by non-union mechanics a union official described as "foremen who haven't handled a wrench in 15 years."

The official, Teamsters representative Henry Breen, said crews were being told that their contract called for them to fly assignments for the Military Airlift Command (MAC) but that "you'd better think of your own body first" when boarding an aircraft maintained by the supervisory staff at the airline's Oakland, Calif., base.

About 1300 Teamsters cockpit, flight attendant, maintenance and allied clerical workers struck Aug. 3 over substandard pay and poor work conditions.

Within days, World non-union ground operations, clerical and sales personnel at Chicago, New York, Newark, N.J., Los Angeles and other offices found themselves terminated without explanation or forced to take vacations.

Other ground workers were told to clean up paperwork and get out. A few were offered a spot in a crash program to train flight attendants for a government financed airlift of Vietnamese "boat people" to the U.S.

With a warning to the union, July 24, to "stay off my property" and stop "the dissemination of your horseshit and propaganda," World owner Edward J. Daly kicked off what Teamsters Business Representative Dan Porter said could be a year long strike.

"Every time we try to negotiate a contract, Daly has tried to threaten us with 'you'll take this [offer] or I'll close down,'" Porter said. "Maybe he is going to close down this time," he added in comment on the mass firings.

A major civilian carrier of military troops and supplies into war zones during the Vietnam war, World recently won government contracts to airlift "boat people" refugees in DC-10s that had already been committed to the airline's new transcontinental cheapie flights.

"At \$250,000 per boat people trip, there's more profit in the airlift than operating the transcon," Porter said.

Although the refugee flights are exempted, the union estimates one half of World's crews are being forced to cross picket lines to fly military personnel—both off duty and armed troops—under

a Teamsters contract non work stoppage clause required by MAC.

World contracted \$28.3 million worth of MAC flights—about one fourth of the total civilian carrier needs of the Pentagon—for fiscal 1979. But with two months remaining in MACs accounting period, World had already nearly doubled its MAC revenue—a total of \$49.8 million—because of contingency flights, according to MAC.

Teamsters said the Pentagon used contingency flights in a strike several years ago at Trans International Airlines in an apparent effort to break a strike.

Unlike MAC flights, World's boat people airlifts are contracted on a month to month basis, according to World Senior Vice President Brian Cooke.

According to the State Department, about 168,000 refugees are to be airlifted over a one year period. A crewmember involved in union negotiations said crews "felt bad about having to refuse to work on a humanitarian project. But the company is not operating the refugee lift at a loss or for cost. They're operating it for a handsome profit."

Less than a week after the strike, World began a crash course in aircraft emergency procedures at its Oakland headquarters. A source at World said "they're taking secretaries right from their desks and putting them into flight attendant school."

Cooke told *In These Times* "we do believe we'll be able to sustain the refugee flights with the use of supervisory personnel and flight attendants willing to work" despite the strike. He confirmed that strikebreakers were being trained to complete the DC-10 crews.

While he would not reveal the price of the flights, he said Porter's \$250,000 figure was not out of line.

Cooke had no comment on how long he expected the strike to last, but said "we don't know when we're going to reopen" World's Baltimore/Newark/Los Angeles/Oakland flights.

Cooke said the firings were being called a "reduction in force termination" by the company, due in part to the discontinuation of transcontinental service.

He said rehiring of terminated employees might be done, but that it would "depend on how long the strike lasts," and refused to comment on charges that the company planned to shut down charter operations.

World, whose stock peaked during its profitable experience in Vietnam, flew troops and supplies into war zones until

its last flight in 1975, carrying refugees and orphans out of Danang under heavy fire.

While Porter admitted World wages are "20 to 40 percent below industry standards" despite World's above average work load and crew responsibilities and risks, representative Breen of the union's Airline, Aerospace and Allied Employees Local 2707 at San Leandro, Calif., estimated the company's current liquid assets at \$98 million.

With Daly ranked as one of the richest individuals in the U.S. and Breen asserting "there is no airline in the U.S. with better cashflow than World," crews are fighting to gain about 20 percent increases over two or three years for cockpit pay and single rooms rather than double and sometimes triple hotel accommodations for flight attendants. World crews often spend two to three weeks on duty around the globe, usually billeted as close as possible to airports.

Flight attendants also want better work schedules.

"Even if they (striking employees) get what they're asking for, they won't be up to industry standards," Breen said.

In Chicago, a non-union ground operations employee who had anticipated a strike layoff but who found himself fired without severance pay, echoed the thoughts of many of his colleagues.

"We thought we were on the brink of getting enough white cards in for a union vote, but now we'll all be gone, so they can just hire new people off the street for peanuts, like us, and keep the union out. They just used us up and kicked us in the face," he said.

Non-union employees complain of a lack of aggressiveness by Teamsters and charge the union with writing off ground operations personnel as organizing targets.

But Porter countered that a recent election in which the Teamsters lost an organizing bid for clerical workers at World's Oakland offices by a handful of votes was an indication of the union's efforts. He charged ground operations personnel showed a lack of interest in a union organizing campaign in 1970, and admitted telling a Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks official, "frankly (organizing at World) seems like a waste of time."

He added, however, that even if none of the fired non-union employees—estimated by Porter at 325—are called back, new employees filling their jobs would be "signed up in a matter of weeks."

Porter was the addressee of Daly's July 24 memo—mailed at company ex-

pense to all employees—warning "anyone presumably representing this company who asks for the use of the Teamsters offices for negotiations will be terminated immediately." Daly also wrote Porter "as far as I'm concerned, you can sit with your former leader, Mr. Jimmy Hoffa, in the swamps or marshlands of New Jersey for any negotiations you may have, or you can join your parental friends who have just been indicted and convicted and are serving terms in the federal penitentiary."

In a later memo the same day, Daly apparently backed down, saying he was "reinstating" Porter's "right to access to the company's property."

Porter, speaking on the eve of the strike, told *In These Times* "the memo was a joke."

"Ed (Daly) called me up about two hours after the memo went out on the telex and said he had just played a joke on the union and me. No one else, including me, may have thought it was funny, but I'm sure Ed intended the letter to be humorous," Porter said.

Earlier in July, Daly had demanded a signature of compliance to a memo demanding that no World employees talk to the news media "relative to company matters of any sort."

"Any individual violating or ignoring this direct instruction will wish that he or she had been in hell 24 hours before his or her act of commission. Any man or woman who disobeys this directive will be answerable to me on an eyeball-to-eyeball basis and this experience will be in lieu of and worse than purgatory," Daly wrote. Again, the Teamsters dismissed Daly's threats as empty bombast from the 58-year-old multimillionaire, saying the memo was aimed strictly at the industry-wide DC-10 controversy.

And what about the consumer?

Bureaucratic bungling by a topheavy management often running scared from Daly's archaic labor practices and too many charter flight bookings for too few airplanes add up to delays that can be measured in days, not just hours, for unlucky passengers.

During this summer's peak tourist period, flow charts for World's flights were often outdated before the ink dried, despite advance bookings for charters of six months or more.

In the words of a non-union World maintenance representative, "they fly the Hell out of their planes until they break, then expect us to fix them in a couple hours before they take off again." World aircraft don't fly unless safety is assured by mechanics and cockpit crews, but that doesn't include malfunctioning galleys and lavatories. A broken hydraulic line is a "no go" item, but not an overflowing toilet.

As usual, it's the flight attendants who smile and bear the burden of abuse from irate passengers.

Al DiFranco, a former World Airways ground operations field representative, is a frequent contributor to *In These Times*.



## CALIFORNIA

# Brown stirs storm with appointment of anti-war P.O.W.

By Larry Remer

SAN DIEGO

IF THE NEWSPAPER DATELINES READ 1969 instead of 1979, the content of the turmoil would have seemed less unreal. Nevertheless, for much of this summer the focal point for political debate in California has been the Vietnam war, with former anti-war activists locked in a pitched battle with right-wing Republicans and mainstream Democrats.

The controversy was triggered when Brown appointed Edison Miller, an attorney and Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED) activist, to a seat on the Orange County Board of Supervisors. A former Marine Corps colonel who spent seven years as a POW in Hanoi and, while in captivity, made public statements against the war that were widely broadcast, Miller's appointment drew immediate fire from the right.

Describing Miller as "Vietnam's answer to Tokyo Rose," State Assemblyman Richard Robbins (D-Santa Ana) rallied opposition. He was joined by State Senator John Briggs (R-Fullerton), who championed last year's unsuccessful initiative to ban gays from teaching in California public schools, and State Senator H.L. "Bill" Richardson (R-Arcadia), who heads the state's gun owner lobby, in pushing the legislature to create a "POW Recognition Day" in protest of Brown's action. Four days after Miller's appointment was announced—on the same day he was sworn into office—both houses of the legislature unanimously passed Robbins' resolution.

## Brown snubs regulars.

The political acrimony between Brown and Robbins and between Brown and the Democratic controlled state legislature runs much deeper than the Miller appointment. Brown has repeatedly shunned use of the traditional political apparatus. He does not consult leaders in the legislature on appointments, legislative initiatives, or other political decisions. As a result, many observers state that his relations with the Democratic controlled legislature are worse than Ronald Reagan's were. As proof, they cite the fact that Brown has had his vetoes overridden more times than any modern California governor.

The "regular" wing of the Democratic party had its candidate for Orange County Commissioner—former State Assemblyman Ron Cordova, a traditional liberal who'd been beaten in a GOP landslide in last year's election. In looking past Cordova for another candidate, Brown was acting very much in character.

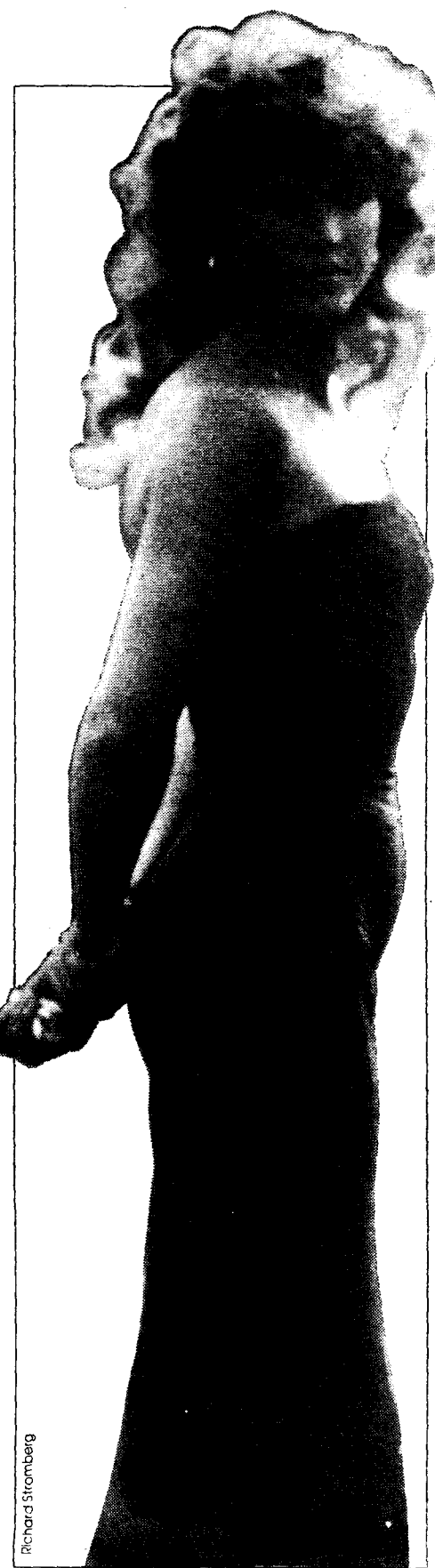
But Orange County was a particularly ticklish situation. Once a bastion of knee-jerk Nixonian conservatism, the county had begun to elect moderates in recent years. Most of the moderates, however, were corrupt, and the area has recently been rocked with scandal. In the last five years, more than 40 public officials—at the county, city, and school board levels—were convicted of various crimes ranging from bribery to influence peddling. Miller was chosen to fill a seat vacated by Ralph Dieckrich, who was sentenced to prison for bribery and conspiracy.

In Miller, Brown said, he had sought "a humanist... a believer in life... a genuine kind of a person. Ed Miller, as a human being, was the most interesting [of the candidates for the job] and would provide what perhaps will be a new direction for that particular service district."

However, the pivotal dynamic in the Miller situation has been the impact of CED and the lobbying Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden did with Brown on Miller's behalf. The connection was very well publicized in the nation's most media conscious state with dozens of political commentators speculating that Brown and CED had "cut a deal" for the appointment, under which Fonda would raise \$3.5 million for Brown's presidential bid.

This added fuel to the barrage of criticism,

## The State Senate retaliated for Gov. Brown's appointment of Edison Miller by rejecting Fonda's nomination.



Richard Stromberg

cism, leading the *Los Angeles Times* to condemn it as "a cynical act" and other papers to decry Hayden's growing influence with Brown.

The same ran true in the legislature, where law-and-order conservatives joined ranks with liberal Democrats to pillory Brown's ties to Hayden and Fonda. "It seems clear the Governor is only thinking of his presidential ambitions by appointing an individual who is more acceptable to Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda than to the people of Orange County," declared Sen. Briggs. Added Assemblyman Louis Pappan (D-Millbrae), "I thought Miss Fonda and Mr. Hayden were a thing of the past."

With every daily newspaper in the state editorially pillorying the Miller appointment and veterans' groups picketing Brown's public appearances and sessions of the Orange County Board of Supervisors, the cry for political blood continued.

## Fonda rejected.

A week after Miller took office the state Senate voted 28-5 to reject Brown's appointment of Fonda to the California State Arts Council—an avowedly apolitical body that doles out small state grants to promote the arts.

While Fonda, who has twice won the Academy Award for Best Actress, was out of the country, the Senate debated her nomination and considered everything but her merits as an artist. Conjuring up Fonda's trip to Hanoi in the early '70s, Sen. Ruben Ayala (D-Chino) declared, "Any individual who gives aid and comfort to our enemies forfeits any right to hold appointive office." Added Sen. Robert Nimmo (R-Atascadero), "By the code under which I served for 25 years she is guilty of treason."

Such vitriol did not surprise CED's leadership who read the anti-Miller sentiment as every bit as strong an anti-CED reaction as an anti-Brown reaction.

"You've got to understand that CED

has been phenomenally successful," declares staff director Sam Hurst. "The attack is an escalation of the conflict we've been having as our influence in California has grown."

CED wasted no time in readying a counterattack. In an appearance before the Arts Council, with Brown at her side, a tearful Jane Fonda decried the State Senate for "resurrecting the tactics of the McCarthy and Nixon periods."

"A number of senators appear to have forgotten that they are part of a democracy [and] have overlooked the fact that, historically, artists have played the controversial but healthy role of critics of the establishment," she declared in a prepared statement that was later reprinted on the Op-ed pages of several major California newspapers.

Fonda's statement was strongly backed by Brown who chastized the State Senate in even harsher terms. "Some of these big men in the Senate are afraid of Jane Fonda—they felt her art, her voice and her influence were too much for them—and they wanted in their own small feeble way to strike out at her," the Governor declared.

In the Miller/Fonda turmoil, Brown's strong stance helped temporarily abate the controversy. So did a full-page ad decrying the "McCarthy tactics" of the Senate signed by a fistful of Hollywood luminaries—a more that struck close to the pocketbook of the liberal political establishment.

Emerging with increased visibility from the fray, CED is girding up for more struggles with the forces that spearheaded the Fonda-baiting drive in the Senate. Already, legislative investigations have been launched into the Southwest Border Regional Commission and threatened for Solar Cal—two governmental agencies that Brown has appointed Hayden to head. "What we're concerned about is that Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda have too much influence," Assemblyman Robbins flatly declares. ■

## CARTER/CONGRESS

# Congress pares down Carter's request for foreign aid assistance

The Carter administration has tried to justify foreign aid on the grounds that it aids American exports. But U.S. Church officials question whether foreign aid really benefits the Third World countries to which it is given.

By Jack Colhoun

BUDGET-BALANCING FEVER ON Capitol Hill is causing headaches for the Carter administration's foreign aid package for fiscal 1980. Both houses of Congress have completed the authorization process. The Senate recently voted to slash 11 per cent for the Administration's \$2 billion bill, while the House cut 5 per cent earlier in the year. Later this summer Congress will vote to appropriate funds for the authorized programs. Hard-pressed to build support before the final vote in Congress, the Administration has resorted to lobbying aimed at highlighting the domestic economic benefits of foreign economic assistance.

From the White House to the State Department, the Treasury Department and the Agency for International Development (AID), the Administration is arguing that foreign aid is good for the economy. Rather than being a humanitarian hand-out to the Third World, the Administration argues that foreign aid subsidizes the export sector of the American

economy. Private lobbies enthusiastic about the economic rewards of foreign aid are joining in. Greg Mignono of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, which is lobbying for the Administration bill, told *In These Times* that "the economic benefits for the U.S. of foreign aid are fantastic!" Fred Stockeld of the Chamber of Commerce noted that many of its corporate members support economic assistance, but "have to be careful not to appear to be making profits out of poverty-stricken countries."

Much lobbying for the Carter Administration's foreign economic assistance bill is done privately. But a *Washington Post* article by Timothy Lovain, a legislative representative for the foreign-policy lobby, New Directions, outlined the Administration's case. "Seventy-five percent of the AID budget is spent in the U.S. to purchase American goods and services," Lovain wrote. "In fiscal year 1978," he continued, "over \$1 billion worth of products were exported under AID financing." Most U.S. aid goes through multilateral development banks (MDBs), such as the World Bank. Since

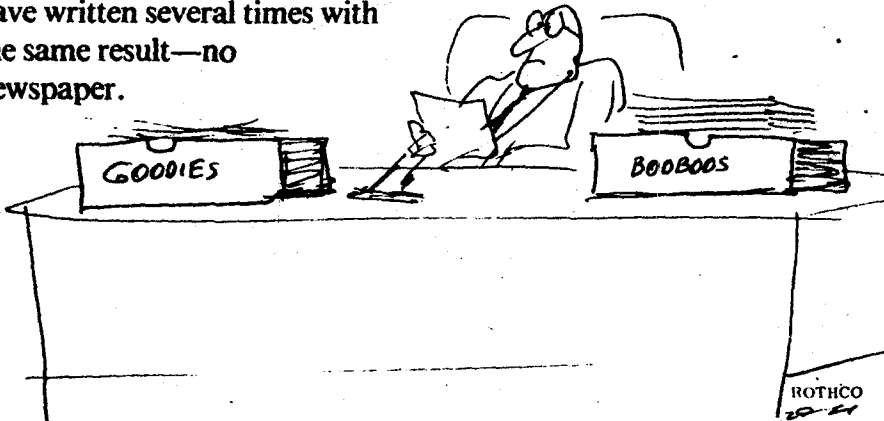
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*Joe Garick*

## Chrysler

Continued from page 3

"We've said to the auto industry in North America for many years that they ought to downsize the cars," UAW vice-president Marc Stepp, who directs the Chrysler division, said. "They didn't listen to us because in this Neanderthal society they don't give workers a voice in the corporation. Had they listened to us in 1971, the company wouldn't be in the trouble it is today."

Now, if Chrysler gets its aid, it may have to listen to some other advice. The UAW had introduced a bargaining demand at Chrysler before the current crisis for worker participation, arguing that "with the stakes so high, and the costs of failure so maldistributed, it is clear that the Corporation can no longer afford to overlook the talents of its workers when making the decisions that affect their livelihood." The union wanted worker participation on the board of directors and worker committees at various levels with authority equal to management involving at least questions about plant location, product planning, capital spending, pricing, production planning, quality control, health and safety and overtime.

When Chrysler asked for the tax credit bailout, the UAW urged instead the 30 percent government equity interest managed by government officials, Chrysler workers and citizens with a background in autos, environment, safety, consumer affairs and finance. They could restrict and direct investment as well as provide protection for laid-off workers and minimize plant closings.

The equity proposal has little chance. "To be honest, nobody is interested in the equity position of government in Chrysler," says the union's director of governmental and political affairs, Stephen Schlossberg. "But nobody is rejecting the things we would want to do if we had an equity position."

Some of these potential restrictions or redirections of Chrysler include the following:

- cut top management salaries and bonuses dramatically;
- have banks convert some of their loans to non-voting preferred stocks;
- cut dividends to stockholders well into the future;
- reduce the number of models, the big cars and the superficial differences between cars such as the Omni and Horizon, Volare and Aspen;
- force the corporation to concentrate on development of a small car, such as the research safety vehicle developed for the Dept. of Transportation (a small, lightweight, 4-passenger car that protects passengers after a collision at 50 miles per hour with a brick wall, gets 40 miles per gallon and could be sold for \$6,500);
- turn some of Chrysler's capacity to production of co-generation units for homes, apartment buildings, businesses, as Fiat does and Barry Commoner recommends (co-generators can be powered by natural gas, use auto-related technology and very efficiently produce electricity and use the waste heat for heating or other work);
- make preservation of workers' jobs a top priority.

Any aid to Chrysler will also bring calls for relaxation of emissions and safety standards and for the UAW to accept an inferior contract. Chrysler bargaining council members voted 239 to 6 in favor of being "flexible" in negotiations, according to Graser, but rejected the proposal for a two-year wage freeze that would have actually cut real income drastically. No concessions will even be talked about until after the GM and Ford contracts are settled, but there is the possibility of deferred benefits or taking part of the cost-of-living or other payments in Chrysler stock.

Concerned as many Chrysler workers are about losing their jobs, they may balk at taking too much less than other auto workers. "Our members have not fully accepted the fact that they will not be part of the Big Three," Stepp said. "You're dealing with some very proud people."

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# IN THE WORLD

## MEXICO

# Oil fuels new elections, but not equality

*The Communists' 15 to 20 Congressional seats will not make Mexico another Italy.*

By Philip Russel

**M**EXICO'S EMERGENCE AS a petroleum power was made dramatically clear to the world by the record-setting oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico. A less dramatic event resulting from Mexico's oil confidence was the opening of the political process last month's congressional elections.

Additional opposition parties, including the Mexican Communist Party, were allowed on the ballot. For the first time in living memory, real issues were discussed at election time, and imperialism, foreign consumption of raw materials, and capitalist exploitation were issues.

However, the political machine of the long entrenched Revolutionary Institutional Party (PRI) easily weathered the election, despite some real opposition. With the left vote split between three parties, and with the strongest opposition coming from the rightist PAN party, the PRI captured 296 of the 300 congressional seats.

An additional 100 seats were allocated to opposition parties, not on the basis of winning a district, but according to the percentage of opposition votes they got. The PAN was the major winner in this category, getting 40 to 50 seats, with the Mexican CP getting 15 to 20, and the rest distributed to the five other opposition parties. (Exact figures won't be in for some time.)

This tectonic shift in the political process gained by the CP and other left groups is unlikely to convert Mexico into another Italy or France. Seats are given to opposition parties in the house, but not in the senate. The Mexican Congress as a whole is notoriously weak, with real power in the presidency. Also the PRI counts the ballots and then names the winners. Frequently, the "losers" named are not the persons winning the most votes, as the frequent violence erupting after elections indicates.

Another sign of the PRI's overwhelming strength is its weakness of what was probably the most viable opposition party, the Mexican Workers' Party (PMT), led by Hernandez Castillo. The PRI not only counts votes, but decides whose votes to count.

In addition to contributing to a climate of increased political tolerance, oil has stimulated the Mexican economy. The anticipation of oil revenues and business confidence instilled by President Jose Lopez Portillo's pro-business stance has pulled Mexico out of the economic slump that followed the 1976 peso devaluation. Last year Mexico's economy grew at 6.6 per cent, with industrial growth reaching 9.6 per cent.

A key element in this recovery has been Mexico's ability to float foreign loans. After the peso devaluation, Mexico was a financial basket case, along with such losers (in the eyes of the International Monetary Fund) as Peru, Zaire, and Turkey. The situation has now been completely reversed. A banker's comments on Mexico's newly gained credit worthiness were recently quoted in Fortune, "Every Tom, Dick, and Harry in banking is knocking on their door." (July 16, 1979, p. 138). Forty plus billions of barrels of oil in the ground provides unbeatable collateral.

Mexico is following a deliberate path of keeping production low and meeting trade deficits with loans. That way Mexico keeps most of its oil, which appreciates in value, and contracts debts in dollars that diminish in value with inflation.

Currently, Mexico is exporting 570,000 barrels a day, of which 80 per cent goes to the U.S. Although it is not an OPEC member, Mexico's oil prices have followed OPEC's. Since Jan. 1 prices have risen from \$14.10 a barrel to the current \$22.60.

Despite the oil-induced boom, there is little progress toward resolving any of the major problems that afflict Mexico. Increasing oil production and stimulating the economy only mean more imports. Despite increased oil exports last year, the trade deficit was \$2.1 billion, a 50 per cent increase over the 1977 figure.

Similarly, unemployment and underemployment have scarcely been dented. In a country where unemployment and underemployment grip as many as half the 17 million work force, the oil industry only employs 125,000 people. New government industrial plans call for using oil revenue to develop capital intensive industries, such as petrochemicals, which

will provide few jobs.

The standard of living for most Mexicans has been dropping, in keeping with Lopez Portillo's austerity policies. In 1978 labor contracts for the minority of workers who are unionized bought 11-15 per cent increases, while inflation was officially placed at 17.5 per cent. Non-unionized labor fared worse, perpetuating the two-decade old trend for the share of income received by the bottom half of the population to decline.

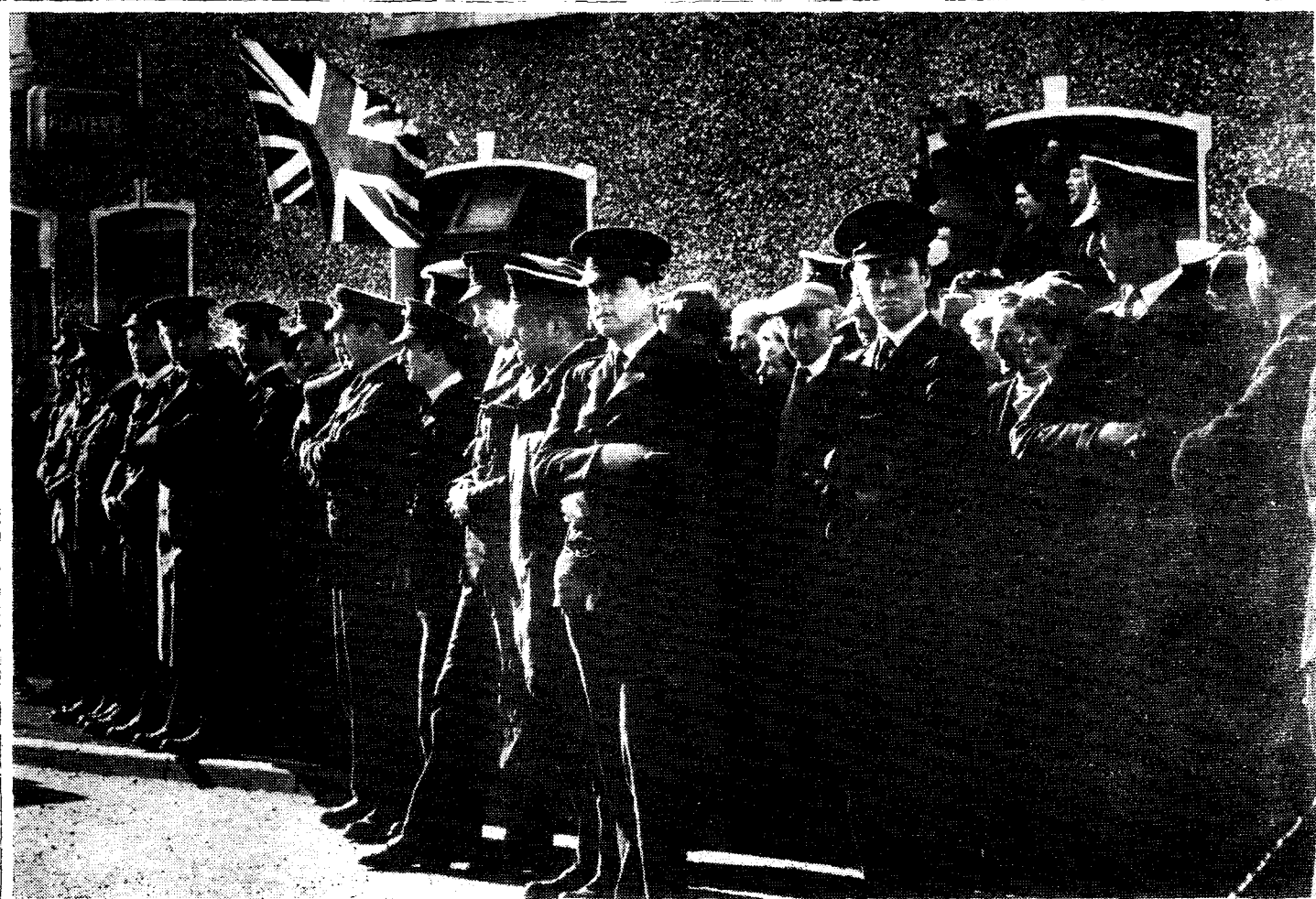
Another unchecked problem is population explosion and urban migration. There is little hope for most of those who live in rural Mexico. Agricultural income is becoming increasingly concentrated as agribusiness operations expand, often to supply the U.S. at the expense of Mexico. Two results are associated with this precarious economic situation: high birth, security in children if not in the economy, and out-migration.

Each year 2.3 million people are added

to Mexico's 67 million population. That comes down to 6,000 additional people a day to be fed, housed, transported, educated and employed. To compound this problem, urban growth rates are much higher than the 3+ per cent national average, as migrants stream in from the countryside. Many major cities, such as Mexico City, and those on the northern border, grow at 15 per cent a year, creating enormous social problems for whose solution very little money is allocated.

At this stage it is premature to predict whether Mexico will seize its golden opportunity to use oil revenues to solve social problems. However, the one case of a long-standing oil exporter in Latin America does not offer much hope. Venezuela is the only major country in Latin America with a more inequitable income distribution than Mexico.

Philip Russel is the author of *Mexico in Transition*.



## NORTHERN IRELAND

# ITT correspondent is arrested

Twice in the first week of August, Dennis O'Hearn, ITT's Belfast correspondent, was arrested and detained during alleged "routine" security checks by British occupation forces in Northern Ireland. On August 3, he was detained at the Castle Street gates to Belfast's city center. Police and army harassment at this checkpoint is especially heavy, since it is the main entry point to the central shopping area for residents of the Republican Falls Road area. The arrest came after O'Hearn was forced to stand for two hours against one of the fences surrounding the city center. During that time, he reports, over 100 young people (mostly 15-30 years of age) were detained for identity checks.

On the previous day, two British army members were killed by the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA) in County Armagh. Just two weeks before the tenth anniversary of British occupation

of Northeast Ireland, the latest deaths bring to 301 the total of British army casualties during occupation.

Three days after the arrest, O'Hearn was again detained by the British Army. This time it was by the King's Own Scottish Border regiment (KOSBies), notorious for its rough treatment of the population. The KOSBies are recruited largely from the Protestant slums of Glasgow, where anti-Irish bigotry is rife. The following is a statement given by O'Hearn to *In These Times*.

"I was stopped and asked for my name and address, which I gave. I refused, lawfully, to give my date of birth. I was held and searched, 12 British soldiers around me. They seemed to enjoy nonchalantly pointing their guns at me, especially at my head. A few excerpts from the conversation:

'American, huh? You bastards are

causing half the trouble over here. I think I'll take you into the alley and you won't come out.'

'You know they call us the 'loony bastards' don't you? That's because of what we do to filthy bastards like you. I'll turn you into gopher meat.'

'There's the hospital across the street. You're in the right place for what we're going to do to you.'

'We're experts at bugging bastards like you.'

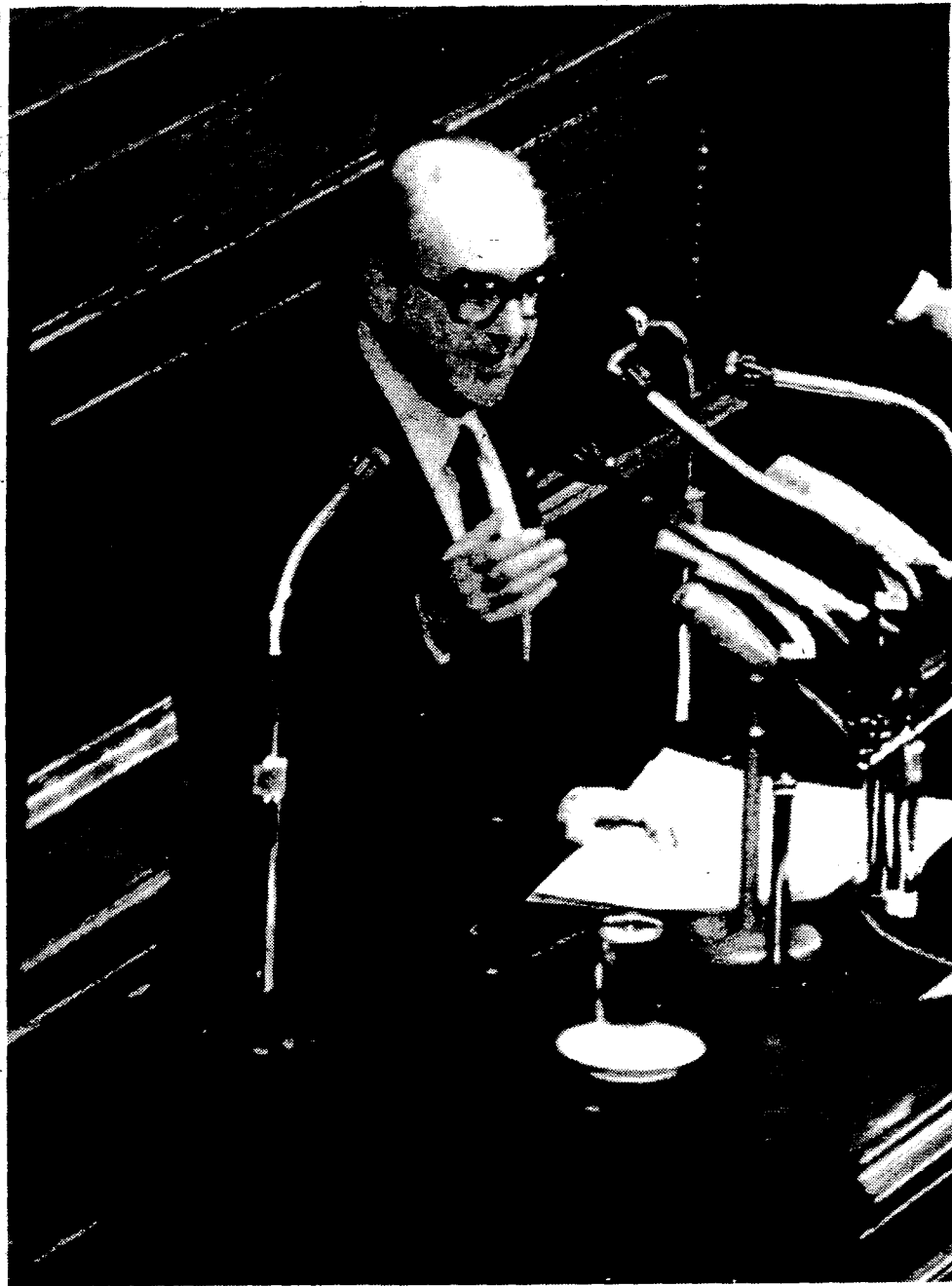
'We'll give you seven days for this. You'll disappear and nobody can stop us from doing what we're going to do.'

All of this just three days after I was arrested before. Luckily, this time they were instructed over the radio to let me go. They don't want America to know how they treat the people of Belfast, because the British want to keep up the big lie that it is the Provisional IRA who are the terrorists over here."



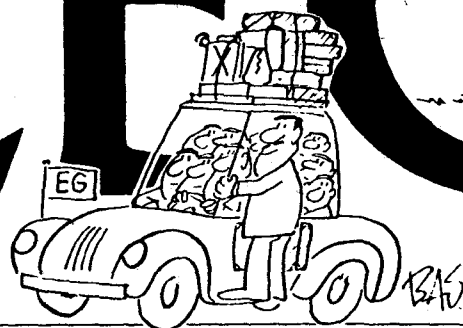


Constantine Caramanlis, Prime Minister of Greece.



Andreas G. Papandreou, leader of the Panhellenic Socialist movement.

# GREECE



By Nicholas Papandreou

ATHENS

**P**ANAYOTIS GOUMAKIS, AN orange farmer in Eastern Peloponnese, speaks slowly, with confidence, and listens with a patience born from years of hardship. Over 60, tan, handsome, with a dark moustache streaked with white, he's old enough to have fought in the Greek Civil War, which he did, with the Communists.

Panayotis didn't go through high school, but he quotes from Marx and Rosa Luxemburg. At a tavern just outside the old town of Nafplion, men, young and old, listen closely as the conversation touches a subject that concerns them all: Greece's entry into the Common Market. Panayotis weighs his words carefully and then pronounces his conclusion: "The Common Market will lead Greece on a tortuous path to destruction." Around him other farmers sip their beers and nod their heads in what appears to be quiet agreement.

Though most Greeks would not go as far as Panayotis, he is not alone in his belief that Greece's entrance into the European Economic Community (EEC), as it is officially known, will not be the blessing the government claims it to be. On May 28, at the official ceremonies initiating Greece into the Common Market as its tenth member, the absence of the two most important leaders of the left, one of whom may easily be Greece's next Prime Minister, underscored the extent of dissatisfaction at Prime Minister Caramanlis' actions.

Constantine Caramanlis has gained a personal victory with Greece's entry because it is something that he has promoted for the last 20 years. He was Prime Minister when he signed the preliminary agreement with the EEC in 1961. His interests are irrevocably tied to those of the ruling class and the West, which supports him. He has concisely summed up his political position with the phrase, "We belong to the West."

Entry into the Common Market, or any common market, is, according to theory (and the Greek government) supposed to increase the welfare of the country that joins. This is to be achieved by abolishing tariffs among members and erecting a common tariff for the rest of the world, which is supposed to result in increased trade.

Second, freedom of "factor mobility"—labor and capital—helps allocate resources efficiently. And third, progressive harmonization of social, fiscal, and monetary policies is supposed to increase economic stability and ensure a tighter economic rhythm (boom/bust cycle) between the country members.

The government maintains that by opening the borders to the West the pressure of the free market will force agriculture and industry to modernize and become "competitive." Greece will spring out of its semi-primitive state and join the ranks of the 'civilized' nations.

## Entry will put Greece into hands of multi-nationals.

The Greek left opposes entrance because it will put the country squarely into the hands of the "club of multi-nationals" as Galbraith once characterized the EEC, making the road to socialism that much

**The Greek left opposed entry into the Common Market. It fears that most of the country's small farmers will now be driven off the land by competition, and that the needs of EEC multi-national corporations will determine Greece's future.**

more difficult. Dependence on foreign capital will increase, while decisions that directly influence the country's fate will be made in Brussels.

Most of the members of the Common Market are also members of NATO, so that, militarily, Greece will continue to remain under U.S. auspices. Greece will indeed belong to the West. The recent visit of Van Angt, the Dutch Prime Minister, only added oil to the fire when Greek papers quoted him as saying "Domestic interests must be placed second to those of the Community."

By far the most vocal opponent to entry is the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) and its 60-year old president, Andreas Papandreou. As Leader of the Opposition with 26 per cent of the vote in the last elections, Papandreou has been a constant thorn in the government's side. PASOK is supported by the lower

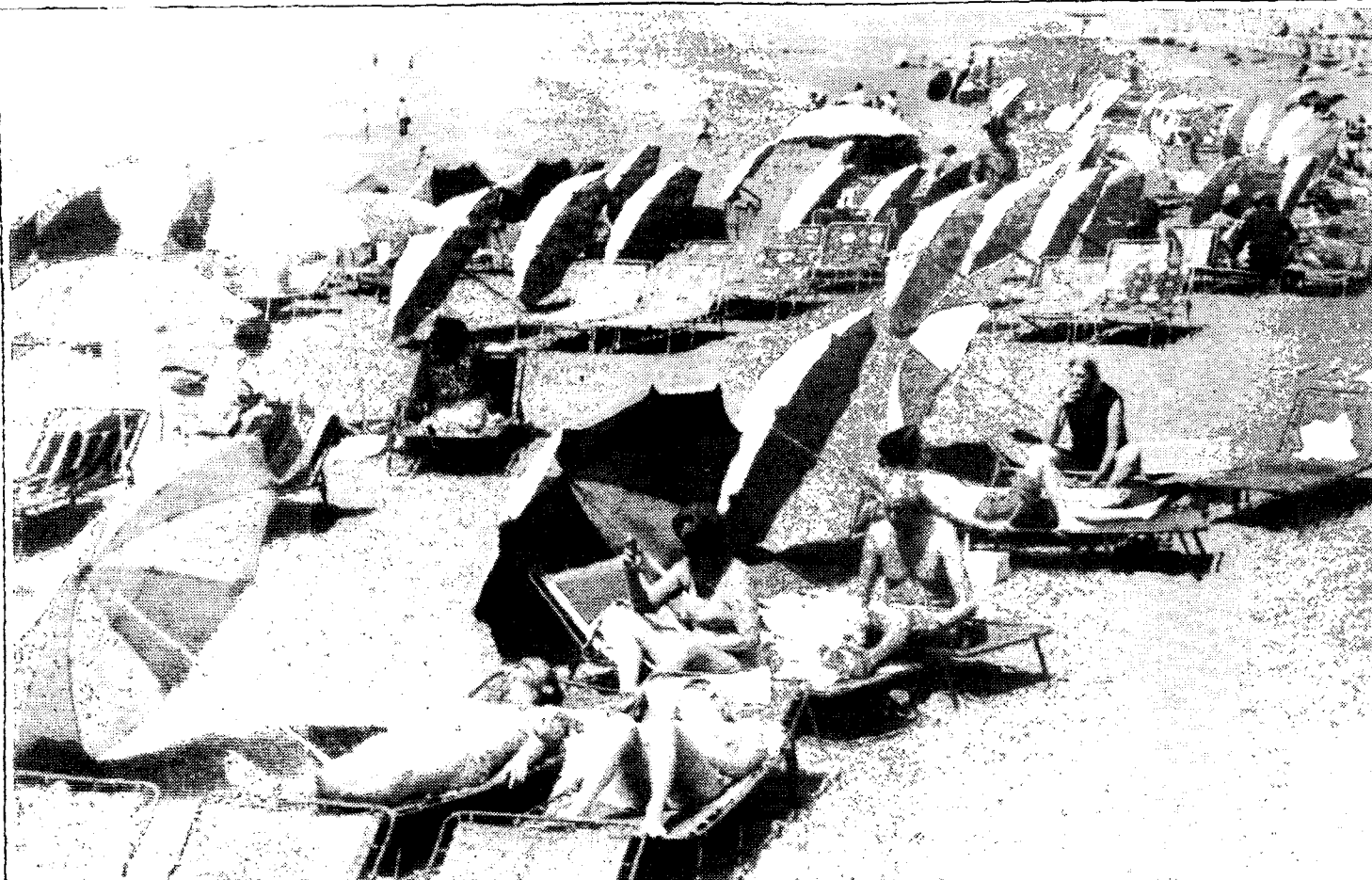
and lower-middle classes and particularly by the Greek peasant. According to PASOK, these are also the classes that will be hit hardest by entrance.

The Communist Party, led by Charilaos Florakis, with nine percent of the vote, opposes entry mainly because it does not like to see Greece move closer and closer to the West, due to the party's open pro-Soviet stance.

The smaller Greek 'Eurocommunist' Party's support for entry is captured in its slogan "No to the Europe of Monopolies, Yes to the Europe of the People." According to them, entry may increase the power of capital in Greece, but it will also increase the strength of the workers, through concerted action with the large European unions.

The European left is split on the issue of Greece's entry into the Common Market. The French, Spanish and Portuguese





These are the tools Greece will use to compete with France and Germany.

socialists, as well as the Spanish communists support it, but the French communists oppose it. During his visit to Greece, George Marchais said he opposed entry not because it would increase the strength of foreign capital in Greece, but because it would harm the French farmers and even French industry. Needless to say, the Greek communists were embarrassed by his lack of proletarian solidarity.

In Parliament, arguments for and against entry are tossed about like potatoes. The government throws facts at the Opposition; the Opposition throws them back. Newspapers, journals, and magazines brim with interviews and essays on the consequences of membership. All this fanfare has confused the average citizen, especially in the city where the effects of membership have no immediate repercussions. Ultimately, an Athenian will end his discussion by supporting his party's position.

The economic argument against entry can be boiled down to one word: competition. In theory, a country should join an economic union when the goods it produces complement what the other members produce. For example, one country produces cars, the other produces tires. Increased demand for cars will benefit the tire producer as well.

If the country that joins produces goods that compete with the other countries' then that country might actually suffer, especially if its economy is at a lower stage of development. A country like Greece, with its small and inefficient businesses, cannot hope to compete against the huge European conglomerates. Business will either be wiped out or foreign capital will purchase the most profitable

domestic concerns. Full factor mobility, without restrictions.

In goods that Greece produces and the EEC does not—the 'complementary goods'—Greece is supposed to fare well. Unfortunately, the EEC has made special agreements with Greece's competitors. These countries have signed contracts that allow them to get by the high tariff barriers. For instance, Greece will now face competition for its oranges from Israel, Spain and Tunisia, while in textiles it will face competition from the Southeast Asian market, even though, as a full member, it should be granted privileges for its produce.

Greece stands to gain from the increased European demand in dried fruits, cotton, tobacco, wine, and in the future, peaches. But this will mean higher prices for urban dwellers, and it is not clear whether the higher prices will benefit the poor farmer or the middleman.

#### Prospects are dismal.

Yannis Skoularikis, deputy of PASOK from Peloponnesus, told *ITT* the prospects for his district were dismal. "We cannot hope to compete with the large German and French agro-businesses. Our methods are archaic, our soil is less fertile, we receive less rain, and when we do get rain it's always when we don't need it; our plots are very small and we can't use our tractors efficiently. Farmers also use their tractors as cars, to carry the family on a Sunday outing. What will happen when Spain and Portugal join the Common Market? Then we're really in trouble."

With agricultural productivity lowest in the Community, Greece will face tre-

mendous pressures. By some miracle the government expects Greece to pull through. There is even a certain indifference to the problem, reflected in a recent statement by the Prime Minister. Under pressure from the free market, Caramanlis said "Greek business will have to sink or swim." Milton Friedman would chuckle.

The fear is that Greece will sink. Inflation looms at 15-20 per cent, and though the population involved in agriculture has decreased from 35 per cent to 30 per cent in the past few years, this is not because of greater productivity but because prices did not cover costs, and farmers either fled abroad or entered the service sector, a sector bloated by Greece's tourists.

With the highest rate of pollution, industrial accidents, traffic accidents, and rate of growth in Europe, Athens—and Athenians—deserves some kind of medal. The city is in a state of chaos. What happens in Athens is very important to the rest of the country because half of Greece's population, 4 million people, have moved into it. The other half is scattered in two or three large towns and many isolated villages, and every year more and more Greeks leave the countryside to join their relatives in the city or abroad. All that's left in the villages are old men and women. This is the Greece that is joining the West.

Greece is the third largest producer of olives in the world, averaging 250,000 tons annually. Olive production employs about 400,000 even though much of it is seasonal. Because olives are one of those products that will not fare well in the Common Market, the government is trying to get people out of oil production, by stopping cheap loans and by asking farmers to cut down their trees. The op-

position fears that these people and others like them, displaced by the Common Market, will have nowhere to go. In a 1977 interview with *Economikos Tachydromos*, a large Greek magazine, Andreas Papandreou predicted that "The entire agricultural population...will have to be reduced to about nine percent, which is the average percentage in the Community. The process of this reduction will result in misery for our farmers who, without special training and no money, will try in vain to find another job and get adjusted to the new conditions."

If it's really so bad why was Caramanlis so eager to join? The answer can be found from his supporters, many of whom live in the beautiful plains of central Greece, in Phthiotida, an area studded with ragged mountains. The Civil War was not kind to the population here. After its victory, the right uprooted all leftists who had survived. Today the villages are bastions of the establishment.

In one such town, Aghia Triada, very close to the Leonidas fall at Thermopylae, a lively discussion stimulated no doubt by the beers "Produced especially for our entry into the Common Market," helps loosen a few tongues that otherwise might not have talked.

The priest of the town, a wiry man with a long white beard, sits comfortably in his wooden-straw chair, dominating the conversation despite attempts by others to interrupt. "Entry," the priest says, "will rid us of all the rot in this country. You people won't get away with selling rotten olives, not to those Europeans. Soon we'll be as good as the foreigners, and if not they'll just take their money somewhere else. Anyway it will guarantee our democracy. Didn't Caramanlis say we belong to the West? It's time we forgot all this other socialist nonsense and started acting like true Westerners."

#### Politics behind entry.

The Government signed the agreement with the Common Market for political reasons. It is a means of ensuring that the right stays in power and that the left stays out. Europe now has a greater stake in keeping Greece capitalist. As a political tactic, the left, and for other reasons, the center, demanded a referendum so that the people could decide. Chances are that the Government would have won the referendum but Caramanlis was too much in a rush to get it through before internal events complicated the issue and before the Europeans backed out under French pressure not to let Greece join. The Opposition claims the Prime Minister refused to have a referendum because he doesn't want the people to get used to being consulted on important decisions.

The most immediate and obvious consequence of entry will be increased tourism and increased sales of Greek land. Foreigners have already bought up some of Greece's most beautiful seashores and the process should reach a climax in the near future after all the land is bought out. In Thassos, an island in Northern Greece, whole villages are owned by Germans and Frenchmen and it is hard to find someone who speaks Greek. Last year, houses in the mountains of Thassos were going for \$6-8,000; cheap for the foreigner, expensive for the Greek. Though there are no available figures on how much land is actually owned by non-Greeks, many people fear that Greece will become "The Florida of Europe."

Yannis Bobis is a taxi-driver, and every day he drives from the heart of Greece's citrus-fruit land, around Nafplion and Corinth, into Athens. In the afternoon he drives back. A lively man in his mid-50s, he gestures madly when he talks. Dragged out to almost epic lengths, he tells about the day that he accidentally walked onto property owned by some Germans. When he went to sit down in a chair, one of them came up to Yannis, screaming and shouting in German. Yannis got mad. "I pointed to the chair and then to him. That was my way of telling him that the chair was his. Then I pointed to the ground and then to myself. That was my way of telling him that the land is Greek." With that Yannis Bobis smiled contentedly as if he had fought and won a significant battle in the duel over the Common Market.



BY A

# BATTLI

## KUCINICH VS. C



**S** Short of a Watergate, the life spans of most American political scandals are brief. Accusations are leveled, villains are denounced, and occasionally indicted. After a spell, life returns to normal.

Six months ago, the embattled mayor of Cleveland, Dennis Kucinich, was fighting for his political life—for the second time in less than a year—against the banks and businesses that have run that city since the mid-19th century. He prevailed. His combative populism won majority support in Cleveland, and persuaded many outside the city that his depictions of the banks and businesses of his city were essentially correct.

But life has returned to normal in Cleveland. Although several investigations have shown that the behavior of the city's bankers was even worse than Kucinich supposed, it is unlikely that they will ever be called to account. They may succeed in November where they failed in February.

Kucinich is still fighting for his life. He faces reelection in November, at the end of his two-year term. Already, Cleveland's powers that be, from their headquarters in the Union Club, have watched one candidate, Edward Feighan, the son-in-law of a former top official of Republic Steel, enter the lists. Kucinich beat him in the last election by 3500 votes out of a total of more than 100,000. If Feighan falls by the wayside, the bankers may have recourse to George Voinovich, a Republican and presently lieutenant governor of Ohio, who also plans to run. Supporters of Kucinich can hope that these two and others besides will run and cancel each other out, leaving Kucinich the victor.

The bankers' hatred of Kucinich is scarcely surprising—although their response, as noted before (*JTT*, Feb. 14), repays close attention by all who wish to know how a City, and the bankers in it, actually operate.

Bankers have feelings, too. When Kucinich publicly chastised Brock Weir, chairman of Cleveland Trust Co., and the other major banking executives of the city as "bloodsucking vampires," the objects of the mayor's scorn retired in dudgeon to the Union Club and vowed to screw him once and for all. The bankers' siege of the city continues, with nothing less than outright surrender demanded.

It will be recalled that Cleveland's crisis reached its apogee during the administration of Kucinich's predecessor, the illustrious Ralph J. Perk, who was mayor between 1971 and 1977. Amid his main achievements—the sale of valuable assets such as the zoo, stadium, transit system, sewer system, etc., belonging to the city—Perk made a unique contribution to

fiscal theory and practice. He threw into one big pot funds derived from a variety of sources: bond and note revenues raised for specific purposes, federal grants, tax revenues, and almost anything else he could lay his hands on. Perk's pot needed constant replenishing because the city's tax base was declining as the cost of government was rising. Thus Perk had to borrow at ever-increasing velocity to cover his deficits.

Perk's antics, symbolized by a narrow escape from self-immolation when he set fire to his hair with a blowtorch while opening a new building, were viewed by Cleveland's bankers with almost unanimous approval. Unperturbed by his boisterous rampages through the city's coffers, the bankers continued to ladle out the loans with a generous and carefree hand. "Ask not what you can do for the city so much as what the city can do for you," might have been their motto. Perk continued to sell off the city's assets. Grandiose tax abatements were handed out, allowing banks and major business to locate within the city limits in a "free trade" zone, entirely at the expense of the taxpayer. (Perk, for his part, denies any wrongdoing and has offered a \$5000 reward to anyone who can prove he misspent city funds.)

A particularly cherished objective of Cleveland's major bankers was the destruction of the already enfeebled municipal electric system (MUNY) and the acquisition of its business by the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company (CEI), an outfit tightly interlinked with the city's big companies and banks.

### Twisting in the wind.

Matters came to a head last December when Kucinich tried to refinance \$15 million of city debt held by the banks, led by Cleveland Trust. The mayor maintains that on Dec. 15 at a private meeting with Brock Weir, Cleveland Trust chairman, and George Forbes, the head of the City Council, Weir made a roll-over of the loan conditional upon the sale of MUNY Light to CEI. Kucinich refused the deal and the city went into default, where it still resides.

This was what Kucinich says happened: Weir took his time issuing a denial, because—as he told a House Banking Subcommittee last week—he was on vacation. Forbes, presently on trial for misuse of funds, takes Weir's side.

Kucinich said No to the banks, and staved off disaster by winning a referendum in February in which the citizens of Cleveland stoutly supported a tax increase and the retention of MUNY Light.

But the crisis has not lessened—despite Kucinich's victory and his acquisition of a national reputation as a gutsy young populist who had successfully defied the Cleveland establishment. The \$15 million



EXANDER COCKBURN AND JAMES RIDGEWAY

# NG THE BANKS

## LEVELAND TRUST: ROUND THREE

is still outstanding, and the bloodsucking bankers are letting the city twist in the wind. They naturally hope that Kucinich will go down to final defeat when he runs for reelection. Although Kucinich is presently low in the polls (he survived a recall election last August by 236 votes), Cleveland's business powers have failed so far to hit upon an appropriate opponent.

### Golden locks.

This spring the Federal Reserve, charged with regulating one-bank holding companies (Cleveland Trust is one), conducted an investigation into the charges surrounding the banks' refusal to roll over \$15 million loan to the city. A House Banking Subcommittee undertook an elaborate staff probe. The Department of Justice is carrying forward an investigation into the possible antitrust violations arising from the banks' actions, and the SEC has begun serious inquiries into Perk's financial maneuverings as mayor.

CEI and other utilities of two profitable coal mines. CEI maintains four accounts at Cleveland Trust. Cleveland Trust is the trustee for the CEI Collective Investment Trust, for its pension plans which amount to \$70 million. It is the registrar for CEI stock. Finally, CEI's building is owned by First Union Real Estate Investors, a real estate investment trust that is, in turn, controlled by trustees of the major Cleveland banks, led by Cleveland Trust and the National City Bank.

In fact, the cumulative influence of Cleveland's major banks on CEI is striking. The detailed study prepared by the House Banking Subcommittee says that 1.7 million shares of CEI stock are held by the trust departments of five Cleveland banks. Cleveland Trust and National City Bank hold a total of 1.5 million of these shares, or almost 4.5 per cent of the outstanding stock of the utility—a slice that, by most normal standards, would give the banks control or some-

mittee "approved a change in the coding to indicate that the stock was considered attractive for purchase. As a consequence the Trust Department holdings of CEI stock increased from 691,568 shares as of Dec. 26, 1978 to 782,798 shares as of Feb. 7, 1979, an increase of 91,230 shares or 13 per cent."

A suspicious mind might conclude that Cleveland Trust's increase in its CEI holdings could have something to do with prevailing local political conditions, and with CEI's possible acquisition of MUNY, favored by Weir, allegedly crouching behind the Chinese Wall separating the bank's trust department from its other operations. Such unworthy suspicions might be encouraged by the timing of the buy: Dec. 26, the first business day after the City Council voted to put the issue of the sale of MUNY before the voters in a February referendum—a referendum the bankers at that time confidently expected to win.

of Dec. 15—the day of default—at a meeting of the executive committee of the bank's parent holding company CleveTrust Corporation. The minutes of this meeting, according to the Fed report, "state that the resolution adopted by the city council on the morning of December 15 calling for an income tax increase for the administration to sell MUNY Light, if signed by the mayor, would provide a basis for the temporary renewal of the notes." In addition, the minutes state that the committee discussed management's plan to renew the notes for an interim period in the event that the mayor signed the resolution. The committee concluded that Cleveland Trust's position would be improved if Kucinich signed the resolution and advised management that it did not object to its plan. Weir is, of course, head of CleveTrust, as well as the bank.

So now the Fed report adds its voice to the chorus of participants and outside press in maintaining that the sale of MUNY Light was a condition for refinancing, even though it dutifully sides with Weir in his gallant insistence that refinancing was not conditional on such a sale.

What appears to be the most detailed study of the Cleveland situation was compiled by the staff of the subcommittee on financial institutions, supervision, regulation and insurance, under the chairmanship of Rhode Island Congressman Fernand St. Germaine.

St. Germaine has held this report confidential, in apparent deference to Republican members of the subcommittee, whose banker constituents would be affronted—and embarrassed—by its reported conclusions.

The hearings themselves were not particularly illuminating—except for an exchange between John Cavanaugh, Democrat from Nebraska, and Brock Weir. Cavanaugh drew from Weir the admission that Cleveland Trust used one set of lending policies for the Perk administration and another for Kucinich's. Weir went on to explain that his attitude toward Kucinich was determined by the mayor's "lack of civility," and indeed by the latter's publicized description of him as a vampire.

It is clear, from these different studies, that the real reason for the banks' refusal to continue financing Cleveland has been their hatred of Kucinich and the policies he stands for. If anything, Kucinich's denunciations of the banks pale beside the detailed saga of their double standards and malevolence.

Altogether, an excellent illustration of how bankers run our cities, and how they do their best to dispose of anyone who gets in their way.

This article first appeared in the Village Voice.



*Round one: Kucinich beats the recall.*

*Round two: Cleveland keeps MUNY Light.*

*Round three: The Banks are coming back for more.*

In short, a rather large amount of analysis has by now been devoted to the financial life of the City of Cleveland.

The Federal Reserve Board published its study in March. Apart from its intrinsic interest, this study has the charm of being a bankers' brief on behalf of bankers. Cleveland's bankers were offered every opportunity to present their version of the controversial events—for very simple reasons. Willis Winn, a president of the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland, is a member of Cleveland's Greater Growth Association (fierce opponents of Kucinich). John A. Gelbach, chairman of the Central National Bank, which holds a portion of Cleveland's debt, is a director of the Cleveland regional office of the Fed, and Weir himself last year was a member of the Federal Reserve system's advisory council. It will be appreciated, consequently, that the Federal Reserve's inquiry was not stacked in Kucinich's favor.

Even so, the details conceded by the bankers are revealing. Two members of Cleveland Trust's board of directors are also members of the CEI board. Cleveland Trust controls 2.2 per cent of the total CEI common shares outstanding and it ranks third, if not higher, among institutional holders of the utility's stock. Cleveland Trust has loaned the utility money and is one of several banks that have helped to finance the purchase by

thing very close to it.

In addition, the subcommittee reports that four Cleveland banks have lines of credit to the utility amounting to \$72 million. Aside from the direct interests described here, the report notes that "the Cleveland banks had 79 director interlocks with 20 other corporations, which also shared one or more directors or officers with CEI."

### Weir's Chinese wall.

It should be remembered that Weir has stoutly denied that he would have refused to loan the city money unless it disposed of the MUNY utility, thus leaving CEI with a monopoly. There was a "Chinese Wall" between Cleveland Trust's directors and its trust department, asserted Weir, and the bank was entirely innocent of any charges that it was controlling the game through its investment in CEI.

After recitation of Cleveland Trust's holdings in CEI, the Fed goes on to state that the common stock of CEI has appeared on Cleveland Trust's "basic list of active holdings" for many years, and for at least the three previous years has been coded as a stock "of excellent investment quality." Between March 1977 and December 1978, the aggregate holdings of CEI stock by Cleveland Trust remained relatively constant. "On December 26, 1978, however," the report continues, Cleveland Trust's trust investment com-

To make the point plain: CEI would obviously become a much more profitable and attractive investment if MUNY were eliminated, for two simple reasons: first, with MUNY out of the picture, the anti-trust suit by the city against CEI would disappear. This suit, in which the city is seeking \$300 million in damages from CEI, would of course have a heavy impact on the private utility, and beyond that, on its creditors, stockholders, and directors.

Second, with Muny disposed of, CEI would have an easier time benefiting not only the utility directly, but also its stock and bondholders—namely the trust departments of the Cleveland banks. The hikes would also benefit the fuel suppliers, some of whose debt securities are held by the banks.

We find another interesting section in the Fed report, which deals, in apologetic tones, with two occasions on which the Cleveland Trust officials discussed the sale of MUNY Light as a condition for financing the city's debt. Handwritten notes of a meeting on Aug. 31, 1978, between "certain" Cleveland Trust officials and the auditor of Cuyahoga County indicate that part of the discussion "concerned the city's need to sell certain assets to enhance its financial condition and among the options discussed were land, sewers and MUNY Light."

The second occasion came the afternoon



# LETTERS

## A FLORIDA TRIBUNAL

**D**URING THE VIETNAM WAR BERTRAND Russell, Jean-Paul Sartre, and others instituted a war crimes tribunal to investigate the U.S. Government role in Southeast Asia.

Similarly, a people's tribunal is being planned to try Governor Robert Graham of Florida and others for crimes including murder because of their invoking the death penalty. This would provide an opportunity for both proponents and opponents of the death penalty to make their cases in a public simulated trial. In addition to dramatizing this would help raise the public consciousness and sensitivity to this important issue.

Funds, suggestions, volunteers, prominent spokespersons from both sides, and general support are needed to make this event a reality. We are aiming to hold the event around November 15th in either Tallahassee or Gainesville with extensive media coverage. Please address all inquiries to Professor Thomas W. Simon or Bonnie Flassig, Department of Philosophy, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida 32611.

-Thomas W. Simon  
-Bonnie Flassig  
Gainesville, Fla.

## MUST A MARTYR BE A SAINT?

**T**HE FRONT COVER OF *ITT*, JUNE 27, stated that "New evidence reveals Ethel Rosenberg was innocent" and the headline of the inside article says "Ethel was framed in atom bomb trial." Unfortunately, the implication in both cases is that, unlike his wife, Julius Rosenberg may have been "guilty"—if not of passing an admittedly non-existent "secret" about the atomic bomb to the Soviet Union, at least of belonging to some sort of vague "espionage network." This, in fact, is exactly what Stern and Radosh claim in their *New Republic* article.

Of course, no one should be surprised by such claims. Today, thanks to the efforts of the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case and others, more and more people have come to understand the true meaning of this case: that because of the anti-communist hysteria which existed in this country during the cold war, two innocent people lost their lives. Therefore, those who want to defend this monstrous frame-up today must find new, more sophisticated methods. The Radosh/Stern argument must be seen as a part of this effort.

I can understand why an incorrigible McCarthyite would welcome the Stern/Radosh article as "something valuable," but I'd think a "socialist" newspaper would label it what it is: another cold war slander against the memory of these two brave martyrs.

The truth? That was stated over twenty-five years ago by Julius and Ethel Rosenberg themselves: "We are innocent."

-Kevin K. Lindemann  
Geneva, Ill.

## SOMETIMES—TRASH

**I**LOOK FORWARD TO READING YOUR newspaper as each issue comes out. But sometimes right after reading an article I feel like putting trash where it belongs. . . in the garbage.

Two recent articles have brought me quite close to the garbage bag: Nancy Leiber's article about Portugal (*ITT*, July 11) and Robin Schulberg's article on the PUSH-SCLC attempt at alliance (*ITT*, July 18).

Several published letters to *ITT* have done an excellent job in criticizing Lieber's article, so I say no more here. The thing I object to in Schulberg's article is the complete distortion of a historical event. Jesse Jackson never cradled Rev. King in his arms. For me, Schulberg's credibility vanished immediately upon reading about this make believe cradling.

I purposely skipped Schulberg's article in the July 30 issue. That's a shame, but writing like Schulberg's (as well as Lieber's) turns me off.

-Clifford Frahan  
River Grove, Ill.

## HETEROSEXUALLY BIASED

**I**'M WRITING IN RESPONSE TO THE EXCHANGE on narcissism (*ITT*, June 27) between Lew Friedland/Stephanie Engel and John Judis. Judis attacks them for proposing that feminism is necessary in analysing narcissism; I support the position of Friedland and Engel.

Judis, in his first article (*ITT*, May 23) lists obsessions with sex therapy, midlife crisis, security, dependence, death and old age as examples of narcissism. These "obsessions" are linked with needs for security and belonging in a society with decreased social integration and a threatening economic organization. How individuals define and conceive of themselves, particularly in a stressful environment, directly relates to personality structures developed in childhood within the family. To analyze any process within the family without a feminist is equivalent to analysing capitalism without Marxism. We need a synthesis of psychoanalysis and feminism; to argue that Freud confused the socialization of women with biology and call that feminism is not enough.

Finally Friedland and Engle are attacked for sexism-baiting and arguing scripturally. Instead, Judis' style of arguing is manipulative and avoids the issues; we need to continue discussion, not end it as Judis tries to do.

Stephen Vogel  
Cambridge, Mass.

## BAEZ LETTER

**W**E SUPPORTED THE VIETNAMESE struggle against American aggression because of our belief in the right of Vietnam to self-determination. We did not base our position on a forecast of the kind of society which would emerge in Vietnam. Rather, our position was based on our implacable aversion to our own country's interference in the domestic affairs of another society.

Even with the ending of the war the effect of American interference persists. After thirty years of war by the United States and with America's continuing violation of the 1973 Peace Treaty by its refusal to grant aid to the Vietnamese government, the Vietnamese people inherit a war-torn, poor, and all but decimated society.

Nevertheless Joan Baez's letter protesting inhumane actions by the Vietnamese government has raised disquieting issues. We feel obliged as socialists to express our concern about the likelihood that such practices have in fact occurred in Vietnam. The existence of inhumane practices within any and all societies must be exposed and protested by all those who value human freedom. As Americans, though, we feel particularly concerned that criticism of the Vietnamese, however valid, not fail to point out the fundamental responsibility of the American government for the plight of the Vietnamese society.

-Lou Ferleger, Mary Hardwick, Carole Iven,  
Paul Lyons, Jay Mandle, Joan Mandle  
Philadelphia

## TIME FOR WISDOM

**Y**OUR EDITORIAL (*ITT*, JULY 4) REGARDING Israeli settlements on Palestinian soil is a masterpiece of political understanding and common sense. These settlements do not add one iota to the military security of Israel, create tremendous administrative problems, as the uprooting of people always does and prejudice the political position of Israel in the international arena.

Begin should learn from Bismark who was not interested in taking one inch of soil from the vanquished but made war to prove that it was more advantageous for everybody to side with Prussia than to fight against her. Israel, many times the victor in too many wars, should refrain from an expansionist policy that will cost her her friends.

In case no one else noticed, the world is going through a convulsion unlike any upheaval since the end of the Second World War. The balance of power is shifting and no one knows where it will find equilibrium again. The United States, Europe and Japan find themselves very hard pressed in their attempts to preserve an internal propriety based upon industrialization, industrialization that, for the most part, relies on oil. This is, therefore, the most inopportune time for Prime Minister Begin to play a biblical role, a mental phantasy without

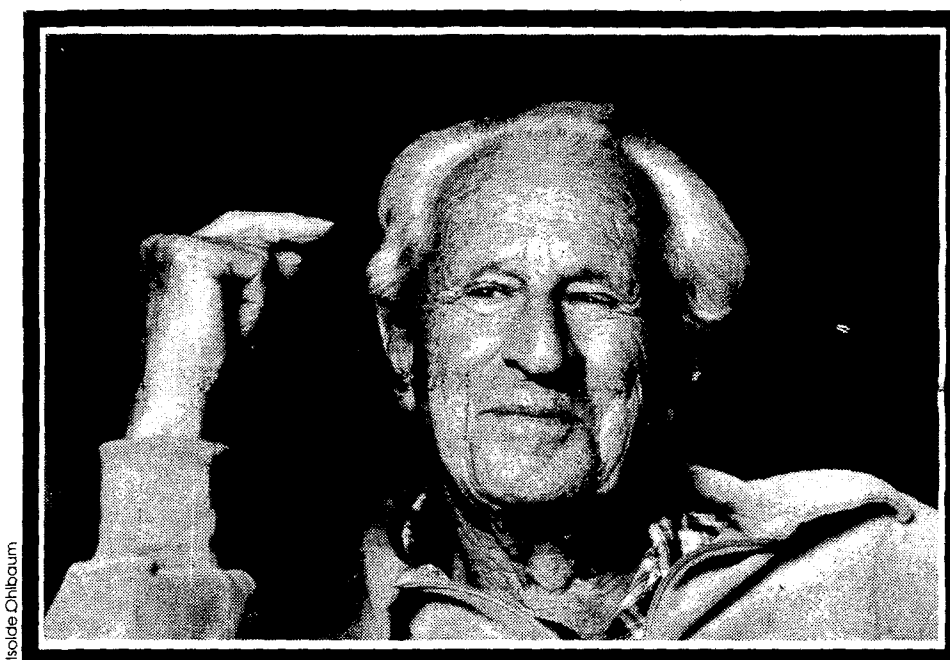
political reality.

Israel, to begin with, was carved out of Palestine mainly because of the Nazi outrage, paid for by American and Anglo-French Zionist bankers, at the expense of the Palestinian people. The argument Palestine is the Land of the Jews is one that, historically speaking, does not hold water. If we are to apply this argument elsewhere, it would follow that Miami should be turned over to the Cubans because Florida, once, belonged to Spain! This is absurd.

On the other hand, the state of Israel exists and there is no sense in talking about "driving the Israelis to the sea" and returning Palestine to their rightful owners. If devolution were to become the praxis of the epoch, mankind would be condemned to spending the remainder of history as one nomadic tribe trying to find out who belongs where and what belongs to whom!

It is time to cease this slaughter of Jews and Arabs on the most sacred soil on the face of the Earth! It is time to realize that the true heroes are not the warriors, but the men of wisdom and peace. It is time for the Israelis to rely on the strength of their character, the only true measure of national stature and remember the days when the Jews were an uprooted people, strangers in every land.

-Art Liebrez  
Sepulveda, Cal.



## A letter from Marcuse's family

**A**S MEMBERS OF HERBERT MARCUSE'S immediate family, we have been asked for our suggestions as to memorial activities for him. We thought we might best respond in the form of an open letter to Herbert's many personal and political friends, as well as to our own friends.

Herbert always felt keenly the importance of preserving and protecting the intimate sphere of the life of the individual. For this reason he had always celebrated the important private events of his life in the intimacy of his family and closest friends. For the same reason we conducted our personal mourning ceremony for him in private, deciding against a public funeral, and had his body cremated, in accordance with his wishes.

Herbert Marcuse was a German Jew who was forced out of Germany by a fascist government, and found refuge in the U.S. He became an American citizen, and always admired the diversity and acknowledged the relative political freedom that this country provided. Although he was not religious, it was important to him (and it is to us) that he was Jewish. Accordingly, we said Kaddish, the traditional Jewish words of mourning, for him when he died. The aspect of the Jewish tradition with which Herbert most strongly identified is the importance it places on the struggle for justice in this life, in this world: its insistence on the ongoing effort "to use life to help bring about a better life."

While Herbert cherished the intimate spheres of life, he also was deeply con-

vinced that human beings are, in their essence, political beings, and that it belongs to the very nature of a human being to attempt not only to understand the world but also to change it. Politically, he saw continual theoretical work as absolutely vital for an emancipatory socialist practice. He aspired to a very high standard of decency and humanity both in his personal life and in his political role, and his final words, in a political conversation, often were simply: "carry on!"

Herbert Marcuse is dead. Neither we nor anyone else can nor should attempt to speak for him. But for those who wish to undertake memorial activities in his honor, it would be our own hope that such activities take place in the tradition of intellectual work and political activity in which Herbert saw himself, which we have tried to describe briefly in this letter.

For those who wish to make contributions in his memory, gifts to any of the causes which Herbert supported in his lifetime would certainly be welcome. Most recently he was actively involved in the attempt to obtain freedom for Rudolf Bahro, the East German dissident Marxist who was imprisoned for writing the book *The Alternative*. Contributions to that cause may be sent to the Committee for Rudolf Bahro, c/o Rudi Dutschke, Heibergsgade 25, Aarhus 8200, Denmark.

-Erica Sherover Marcuse  
La Jolla, Cal.  
-Peter Marcuse  
Waterbury, Conn.



*The following is the working paper of The Citizens Committee, which filed with the Federal Election Commission as a political action committee in preparation for organizing a Citizens party. The Committee has about 100 sponsors, including Barry Commoner and Steelworkers union insurgent Ed Sedlowick.*

125 years ago, a small group of people met in a Wisconsin town to form a new political party. They founded the Republican Party because neither of the country's major parties were confronting the great national issue of the day: slavery. Today this country is in a similar crisis and faces a similar opportunity. And today, also, neither of the nation's dominant political parties is confronting that crisis or acting on that opportunity. Consider the facts:

—Prices have risen more in the past decade than in the 20 years before. The cost of buying or renting a modest home is soaring beyond the ordinary family's reach. There is no end to inflation in sight.

—The wealthiest nation on earth can't provide jobs for its citizens. Millions who want to work are on unemployment or on welfare. Among inner city minorities, joblessness is worse than in the Great Depression. College graduates can't find the work they have been trained for.

—Faced with gas lines and a deepening energy crisis, the government compounds the problem. It advocates inflationary decontrol. It dismantles energy-efficient rail service. It backs expensive and dangerous nuclear power and synthetic fuel. And it largely ignores the major solutions which are clean, decentralized, and potentially cheap—energy efficiency and solar power.

—The American working man and woman have lost ground. Hard-won raises are erased by inflation. The Administration tries to limit wages, but not prices.

—A decade and a half after Martin Luther King spelled out his American dream, minorities and the poor are still waiting for their share. The great promises of the 1960s—better housing, job training, national health care, the rebuilding of our cities—remain a mirage.

—After several "tax reform" bills, there are more loopholes than ever for the rich and the huge corporations; the burden falls still more heavily on the poor and the middle class.

—The government already has enough military might to kill everyone on earth. Yet it builds additional new missile systems and weapons to wage electronic war in space. It continues to arm dictatorships around the world. And it pretends that still more billions will buy more security.

—Women's gains are under attack. The Equal Rights Amendment is stalled. If she is lucky enough to find a job, the average woman will earn a wage only 60% that of the average man.

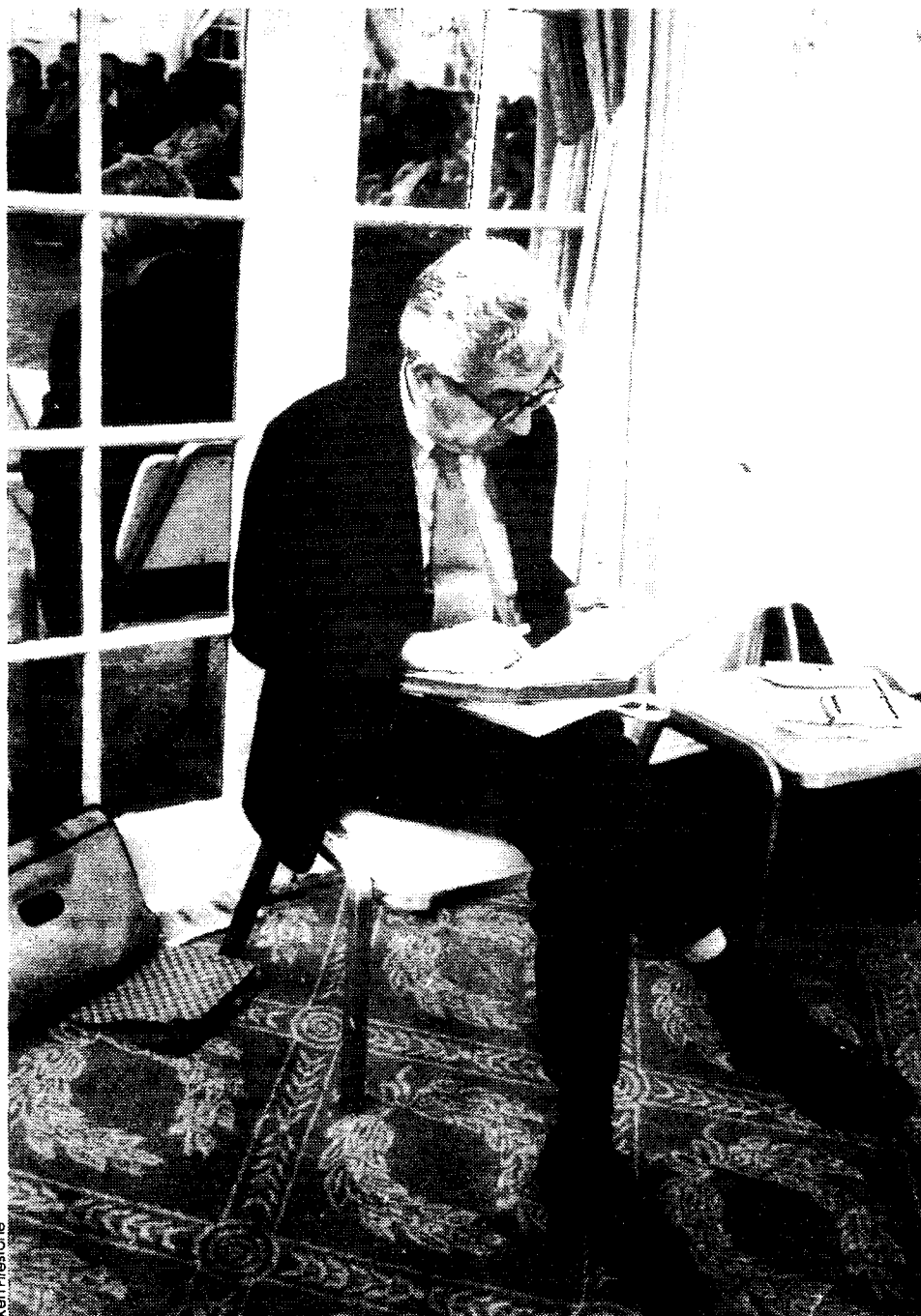
Small wonder, given all this, that half of the eligible voter's don't register, and that half of those who do register usually don't vote. Polls show a plummeting confidence in government and in big business, a pervasive fear that the future will be worse than today. People feel—and rightly—that a dream has been betrayed, that the vision we once allowed ourselves has been replaced by smog-choked skies, by TV screens advertising shoddy products we don't need, and by a country which has somehow, like a car without a driver, slipped from our control.

What happened? Has there been a conspiracy of corporate chieftains or power-hungry politicians to plot a takeover? Of course not. Rather, times have changed: an economic system which in its infancy spread prosperity across a continent has gradually become outdated.

This country began as a place where people had control of their lives, to a degree perhaps unmatched in history: as family farmers, as independent artisans and entrepreneurs, as participants in town meeting democracy. The free

# THE ROAD TO 1980

## A Citizens voyage towards a renewed American democracy



Citizens' Committee leader Barry Commoner

enterprise economy meant something important: hard work was usually rewarded; if you made as good a product in your workshop as the next person, you prospered; and you did not need a huge capital investment to start a small business.

But our system today no more resembles free enterprise than a freeway resembles a dirt road. Small companies of all kinds are being squeezed out. In many fields—from automobiles to light bulbs to breakfast cereals—four firms or less control more than 90% of U.S. production. And more important still, these vast corporations—many with annual budgets greater than those of most countries—spread across national boundaries. A multinational corporation can switch profits to a subsidiary in Panama when we tax it, switch jobs to a plant in Taiwan when American workers ask for higher wages, make a dangerous pesticide in Brazil when its manufacture is banned in the U.S. For the multinationals, this is no age of "lowered expectations"; their power is greater than ever. Beholden to no one but stockholders, beyond the control of most governments, protected by the myth that they are merely small business writ large, large corporations unaccountable to us increasingly shape our lives.

Their decisions determine what gets produced, and for whom. Auto companies make more money selling high-priced gas-guzzling cars, so they do

so—even when the national interest calls for small cars with better mileage, or for trolleys and buses instead. Conglomerates market additive-filled junk food because the profit margin is higher than for fruits and vegetables. Private interests come first, the public interest last. Gradually, almost imperceptibly, a whole life-style—energy-intensive, ridden with cancer-causing pollution, fueled by advertising—has been given to us. It is a lifestyle that we did not choose for ourselves.

There is nothing wrong with profit, or with private ownership. What is wrong is when private interest, and not the public good, determines how we live. That is what must be changed, and that is the issue the two major American parties can not and will not face. Elevating the national interest above vested private interests is the heart of what the Citizens Party is about.

What is to be done? We do not have all the solutions. We invite others to join us in enlarging and refining our program. But we believe that, at a bare minimum, a citizens' movement to retake control of this country must work for the following goals:

—Public control of the energy industries. In the midst of an energy crisis that affects every American, we cannot let the decisions of Mobil, Exxon and the rest determine how much oil and gas is produced, and where.

—A swift halt to nuclear power. If this is

not done, our environment may be poisoned for thousands of years to come. One Three Mile Island accident is enough.

—A strong push, instead of the Administration's lip service, for conservation and solar energy. And for related forms of power such as methane gas and alcohol fuels. These also are safe, non-polluting, and can be produced on a small scale by communities across the country, without the multi-billion dollar high-technology plants that only big business can build.

—An immediate, sharp reversal in the rate of military spending. Protecting the U.S. from aggression is worthwhile, but building and exporting unneeded new weapons systems has already escalated the arms race to the edge of disaster. A good place to start these cutbacks: the dangerous new MX missile program.

—A guaranteed job for everyone who wants to work. National planning and conversion of the armaments industry to productive activity can ensure this.

—Stable prices for the basic necessities of life: food, fuel, housing, medical care. Price controls can accomplish part of that job; more important is to attack inflation's causes—all of which are controllable. One is the massive arms budget, which soaks up hundreds of billions of our dollars but produces nothing people can use. Another is our dependence on the depleting supply of fossil fuel. Whether oil in Saudi Arabia or coal in Kentucky, getting it out of the ground costs more each year than the last.

—Vigorous support for human rights at home and abroad. Here, that means working for civil liberties, affirmative action, the ERA, and equal rights to all health care, preventive and therapeutic. Overseas, that means an end to U.S. aid and military alliances with all countries that deny justice to their citizens.

—Putting the vast corporations which control our economy under *our* control. We believe in citizen control of major investment and resource decisions. We want to see that control as decentralized as possible. Experiments in worker and community ownership should be encouraged. Cities, towns, and neighborhoods should have control over whether a factory with needed jobs can move to another city or country, or whether investors are allowed to abandon an area, leaving it a bombed-out war zone like the South Bronx.

We believe these are good goals for today—and the future. We are building a Citizens Party for the long run. It is not a third party, for we reject the relevance of the two existing ones.

It is a new party, to raise the issues the existing parties ignore. We start today because none of the major party Presidential candidates, announced or unannounced, are discussing these issues, and we are tired of wasting our votes.

We ask you to join us. We appeal to Republicans and Democrats who are fed up with their parties' evasions. We appeal to citizens who have stayed away from the polls and want a party that gives reason to return. We appeal to labor and independent business people, who know that the interests of the giant corporations are not the same as their own. We appeal to the minorities and working people who have suffered the most in the current recession. And we appeal to activists in the women's movement, in the churches, and in the struggle to protect our environment, all of whom have given new meaning to America's democratic traditions in the last few years.

We are embarking on a long but exciting voyage. The economic system we have inherited clearly no longer fits our needs. Such times come in human history; Jefferson knew it when he wrote: "I am not an advocate for frequent changes...but institutions must advance to keep pace with the times. We might as well require a man to wear still the coat which fitted him when a boy, as civilized society to remain ever under the regimen of its ancestors." We have reached the time for one of those historic passages today, and we ask all Americans to join us.



JOSHUA DRESSLER

## High Court upholds pre-arrest protections

IT IS NO LONGER NEWS when the U.S. Supreme Court rules for law enforcement, and against citizens, in the field of criminal law. But victories for citizens make news. So, let us analyze a few such recent decisions. Although law enforcement was hardly deserted by the Burger-Nixon Supreme Court term did see surprising gains. The most significant may have been rendered in the important area of police-citizen confrontations on the streets and in cars.

Most citizens have involuntary confrontations with law enforcement officials, if any, as they walk the streets, or drive their automobiles. A person may be stopped for speeding, or for no reason at all, in his or her automobile. They may be forcibly stopped as they walk the street. In either case they may be interrogated, and even searched, for no better reason than that they are black in a white neighborhood.

In 1968, the more liberal Warren Court ruled that police may not forcibly stop citizens unless they have a reasonable suspicion that crime is afoot and that the person stopped is involved in the crime. Even then, the officer may only conduct a limited interrogation and may only frisk



Court, the recently concluded civil libertarians make some (pat down the outer clothing) the person if the officer has reason to believe the individual is armed and dangerous.

In a subsequent Burger Court opinion, however, the "reasonable suspicion" required for such an intrusion was greatly watered down. Then, last year, the Court also concluded that when citizens are stopped in their cars to be ticketed for traffic violations they may be ordered out of their vehicle. The Court felt this was a "minor inconvenience."

This year, however, the high court decided three more cases implicating these common daily confrontations. In each case, law enforcement action was invalidated.

One common police abuse invalidated is the practice of officers taking suspects into custody for interrogation when they lacked sufficient cause to arrest them. The hope of police is that the question-

ing will result in admissions that will then give them sufficient grounds to arrest the citizen. Sometimes the police claim such persons were not under arrest, other times they say the citizens are arrested "on suspicion" of a crime, thus avoiding the constitutional requirement that arrests be based on "probable cause." This year, in *Dunaway v. New York*, the Court invalidated such "non-formal" arrests. Quite simply, if the police wish to take someone into custody against his or her will, in order to interrogate them, they must first have probable cause to arrest them. The practice, then, of round-ups will necessarily end.

In a second case, *Delaware v. Prouse*, the Court by an 8-1 margin invalidated the common urban police tactic of stopping moving vehicles ostensibly to check for vehicle safety and license violations (e.g., faulty brake lights, etc.), even where they lack any reasonable belief the car is in violation of any laws. This technique has been used by some police as a pretext to conduct more extensive searches that are not otherwise permitted. It also results in unequal enforcement, in which "disreputable" looking cars—those driven by poor persons—are more often stopped. The Court concluded that stops can take place if law enforcement officers have reasonable information prior to the stop that the vehicle in question is in violation of some safety or license law. The Court did hint, however, they might approve stops on no basis if they are done to every car, or every tenth one, etc. Justice Rehnquist ridiculed this suggestion, saying this is "misery loves company" reasoning. Although the "hint" may represent a serious loophole, it may be the Court's awkward way of properly suggesting that they oppose police discretion being used in an abusive fashion—and that more routine stops, which lack such discriminatory motive, may be less intrusive.

Finally, in *Brown v. Texas* the high court invalidated a statute present in more than half of the states that permits officers to stop "suspicious" looking persons, de-

mand identification, and arrest those unable or unwilling to comply with the demand. Such laws are no more than disguised "vagrancy" ordinances, which permit officers to question and ultimately arrest strangers, or those who do not fit the police's model for clothing or decorum. Although the Court did not say whether such laws are always constitutional, it did declare them invalid when the police stop persons whom they have no reason to believe are involved in crime.

Although these victories are limited, they do represent a happy, and surprising, result for advocates of civil liberties. There may be a dark lining in the silver cloud, however. The current trend in case law seems to be that the Court is drawing a firm line between the rights of citizens prior to arrest and those after arrest. Each of the defendants in these three cases this year were persons against whom the police had little or no evidence of criminal behavior. They were "common citizens," like "you and me"—and like the justices. For such persons the Court seems willing to afford protection.

Once persons are arrested, however, it is as if the Court now considers them "criminals," not citizens, or even "suspects." They no longer are viewed as fully deserving of the constitutional presumption of innocence. As a result, few, if any, obstacles are placed between the police and prosecution—the government—on the one hand, and the conviction of that presumed-innocent person.

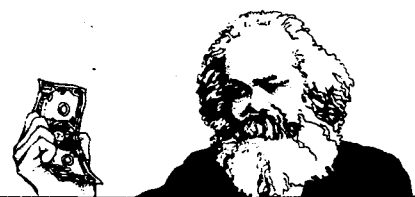
For the average citizen who violates no laws, except perhaps an antiquated sex or marijuana ordinance, the Court's holdings will serve as a protective device in their confrontations with police. If my theory is correct, however, it is small consolation to civil libertarians to learn that the constitutional presumption of innocence, supposedly retained until the jury returns its guilty verdict, now functionally ends upon arrest.

Joshua Dressler is professor of law at Hamline University School of Law in St. Paul, Minn.

JOHN SAUL

## Commonwealth meeting focuses on opposition to Muzorewa regime

LUSAKA, ZAMBIA—The August commonwealth conference in Lusaka is important. The Thatcher government seems determined to press ahead with United Kingdom recognition of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia's Muzorewa regime sometime later this year, although it may decide to do so only when that country's grossly inequitable constitution can be modified to make it a bit more palatable to international opinion. ¶ The Conference provides the forum within which other Commonwealth countries, notably member-states from black Africa, will try to dissuade Thatcher by threatening to raise the costs of her moving too precipitously in this direction.



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And quite apart from the possible danger to the Commonwealth's own continued existence, which such threats pose, some of these countries do have economic cards to play. This is particularly true of Nigeria, Africa's new economic giant, with its oil resources and with a series of large contracts pending with British firms.

The Conference also focuses considerable attention on the host country, Zambia itself, and the light cast is likely to be cruel. Zambia is, of course, a charter member of the group of five Front-Line states that provide support for the liberation struggle further south, in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. Yet in Lusaka the country's commitment to such a struggle appears precarious, its will flawed, the pressures upon it considerable.

I felt this most starkly on June 26 when Rhodesians raided Lusaka, striking at targets not far from where I was staying in the Zambian capital. The targets were various non-military establishments of the Zimbabwe African People's

Union (ZAPU), one of the two liberation movements that make up Zimbabwe's Patriotic Front (PF).

The first attack, at 6 a.m., was on Freedom Camp, just outside the city. This camp had been raided once before, last Oct. 19, when the damage was much more serious. The camp then housed a school, with three or four thousand boys in attendance. Almost three hundred were killed and hundreds wounded.

Since then, however, such concentrations of Zimbabweans-in-exile had been moved further north, and the camp now housed only a fledgling agricultural project—chickens, pigs, vegetables and maize—designed to help feed the many thousands of refugees now under ZAPU jurisdiction. I confirmed this for myself when I visited the camp two days before the raid. Now, bombed and strafed, some of the essential infrastructure of the farm lay in ruins and eight of forty agricultural workers at the camp were dead.

Several helicopters reached Roma, a Lusaka suburb, less than a kilometer from the Mulungushi Conference Centre, site of the Commonwealth meetings, and zeroed in on one of several houses, sprinkled among the suburban residences, that provide sleeping quarters for ZAPU personnel. Two helicopters set down and a fierce gun battle in and around the house ensued. In the fighting twelve ZAPU members were killed. The house itself was destroyed. ZAPU, in turn, claimed six Rhodesians killed, though the bodies departed with the helicopters.

This part of the mission over, Rhodesian helicopters dropped leaflets over the city. This "message to the people of Zambia from the people of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia" asserted that "Zimbabwe-Rhodesia now has black majority rule," that "there is therefore no further need for war" and that "the people want peace with all neighbouring countries." As for "the power-hungry leaders of the so-called Patriotic Front...they hide in comfortable places in your country, and send innocent men to suffer and die just to keep the leaders in luxury...ZAPU controls your territory, eats your food and attacks your citizens."

Not until an hour after the raid did an

army unit arrive at the Roma house, as late for action as they had been a few months earlier when Rhodesian forces in land-rovers blew up the house of ZAPU's President, Joshua Nkomo, only a few hundred yards from Zambia's own Presidential Palace. Two days later, the headline of a local newspaper article about the raid read, "I am not embarrassed—says KK." KK is Kenneth Kaunda, Zambia's President.

There is a hint of desperation about the Rhodesian raids themselves, whether they are into Zambia or into neighboring Mozambique, a country that provides the rear-base for ZAPU's twin organization within the Patriotic Front, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). Most observers agree that the refurbished Muzorewa-Smith government is still losing the territorial war within Zimbabwe. They therefore continue the time-honored (but ultimately ineffective) counter-insurgency strategy of "hitting the bases" beyond the borders.

However, just as salient from a Lusaka vantage-point was the minimal resistance offered by Zambia, even to so modest a version of the standard Rhodesian raid as the one I witnessed. In this respect its undertakings contrast sharply with those of Mozambique where Rhodesian raids have inflicted even more costly damage, upon Mozambicans as well as upon ZANU targets, than those into Zambia. Yet the ability of Rhodesia to strike with impunity into Mozambique has lessened over the past several years.

This reflects a strengthening of Mozambique's ability to defend itself. More important, it reflects Mozambique's will to resist. The Rhodesians can still do considerable damage, but they are now made to pay a considerable price. Such is not the case for Zambia.

These differences are linked closely to more fundamental differences between the two countries that became apparent after even a brief stay in the region.

*This is the first of a series of on-the-spot articles about Southern Africa by John S. Saul whose latest book, **The State and Revolution in Eastern Africa**, has just been published by Monthly Review Press.*



# Foreign aid battle

Continued from page 7

1946, Lovain pointed out, "Our real GNP increased annually between \$1.2 billion and \$1.8 billion as a result of exports of U.S. goods and services to markets directly created by MDB-financed projects in developing countries." Lovain conceded the White House supplied the facts and figures for his article.

In the face of legislative difficulties on Capitol Hill, the Carter administration has chosen publicly to explain the inner workings of the neocolonial system established by the U.S. since 1945. World War II accelerated the disintegration of the European colonial empires. After the war, Washington took the initiative to restructure the disorganized Third World into a global economy under American hegemony. Through a complex of international financial agencies (MDRs), in which the U.S. exercised dominance, and bilateral loans, upon which Third World economies became dependent, Washington wove a web of economic relations, the purpose of which was to maximize profits for American corporations.

Foreign economic assistance programs fostered the development of raw material sources and an economic and political environment suitable for private U.S. investment in Third World nations. Loan repayments in American dollars encouraged underdeveloped nations to export their most abundant commodities, raw materials, to earn dollars, thereby extending American dominance at the expense of European nations. As Third World economies developed since World War II, so have markets for goods manufactured in the U.S.

World Bank President Robert McNamara underscored the growing importance of export trade to the Third World in a speech last May at the University of Chicago. The former Defense Secretary

said: "The U.S. now exports more to the developing countries than it does to Western Europe, Eastern Europe, China, and the Soviet Union combined."

Although formal Capitol Hill debate will center around how much the American economy profits from foreign aid, other voices are making themselves heard. The National Council of Churches Inter-religious Task Force on U.S. Food Policy has pressed for structural changes in the foreign economic assistance program since its inception in 1974. Larry Minier of the Task Force told *In These Times*: "The U.S. clearly has a stake in a world that is more equitably fed, housed, and clothed. These objectives will be particularly difficult to reach by writing procurement orders primarily for U.S. goods and services."

Aid to purchase rice for needy Southeast Asian countries would be more beneficial to the region if it were bought from rice-producing neighbors rather than from Louisiana, Minier says. Hardware to be used in development projects should be purchased from Third World suppliers, not from American corporations. The Task Force has also worked to channel U.S. aid to the neediest countries, not to Washington's staunchest Third World allies, as is the usual practice. Nevertheless, the Task Force is lobbying in support of the Administration bill.

The Development Group for Alternative Policies takes another approach. According to Doug Hellinger, not only is U.S. foreign aid structured to serve the needs of the American economy, but it is disbursed by bureaucrats in recipient nations insensitive to local needs. He stresses the importance of getting funds to "grassroots organizations responsive to local needs so that aid doesn't reinforce local power structures in countries with seriously imbalanced income dis-

tributions."

Hellinger says the Development Group's goal is to demonstrate that constructive alternatives regarding foreign aid do exist. He points to Latin American community development groups, cooperatives, and other local development organizations capable of distributing more aid than they are currently receiving. Development Group thinks the issue of foreign aid

cuts is a bogus concern because most aid does not serve the needs of the masses of people in the Third World. ■

*Jack Colhoun is a freelance writer and historian specializing in post-World War II American foreign and military policy. He was an editor of AMEX-Canada, the former magazine of anti-Vietnam War exiles in Canada.*

## NAM and revolution

Continued from page 2

Gramsci, but no favorable mention of past Americans. Many speakers used European examples to bear up their points. And at a convention that precedes the 1980 elections, there was scant discussion of party politics. A Barry Commoner address on the Citizen's party got some enthusiasm but not commitment; Teddy Kennedy's name was only mentioned perfunctorily and derisively to hoots and hollers.

The resolutions finally adopted on electoral politics and labor were muddled majority compromises with the August 7th positions. Electoral politics was allowed—and contrary to the August 7th position, a chapter might even back a "neo-populist" like Ron Dellums—but electoral work was always to be subordinated to "collective mass struggle" and "independent mass organizations." All labor leaders were not condemned, and an attack on the "UAW's attempt to make union members pay for the Chrysler crisis" was amended, but rank-and-file unionism, with no specification of where, when, and to what ultimate purpose, was made the priority. Both documents were so abstract, Dorothy Healey later remarked, that they could have been written any time in the last 50 years.

DSOC's National Secretary Jim Chapin, who said he was generally pleased with the convention results, characterized NAM as 18th century Congregationalists

waiting for Jonathan Edwards to arrive on the scene. Chapin's comment was meant partly in admiration of NAM's enthusiasm and spirit, but it also had a critical edge. NAM, like other left-sectarian embodiments of Protestant evangelicism, has the same reverence for scripture, distrust of worldly authority, and conception of themselves as an elect destined for Heaven.

In discussing the role that NAM could play within an emerging anti-corporate movement, Pittsburgh NAM member and labor official Paul Garver remarked, "NAM wouldn't be a very hospitable atmosphere for most of these people. It's too subcultural. And too many people in NAM are too protective of their own ideas and too intent on keeping the revolutionary flame burning."

In the past, NAM leaders have explained their small size, their programmatic failings and their bouts of posturing by reference to the times. And at the convention some of them resorted to this explanation again. "When you are very small and there isn't a mass movement, it is easier to fall back on platitudes," Dorothy Healey said.

But as a left re-emerges in the U.S., it is becoming increasingly difficult for socialists inside and outside of NAM to accept that explanation. NAM will either have to shed its sectarianism or sink, as Aronowitz warned, into "revolutionary" oblivion. ■

## ALTERNATIVES: A JOURNAL OF WORLD POLICY

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## FROM MONTHLY REVIEW PRESS

SPECIAL OFFER TO READERS OF  
IN THESE TIMES

A GREAT SOCIALIST NOVEL

### "The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists"

is a classic of modern British literature, that ought to rank with the work of Thomas Hardy, D.H. Lawrence, and James Joyce, and yet it is largely unknown because of its political unorthodoxy. A proletarian, socialist novel, it has been ignored by the cultural establishment in the United States and England, but at the same time has not been welcomed in left-wing circles.

*The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists* takes a hard, unsentimental look at the proletariat; no revolution is described in these pages, nor is there a strike or even a trade union. What's more, the bulk of the workers portrayed here express 'blind, stupid, enthusiastic admiration ... for those who exploited and robbed them. They 'supported and defended the system that robbed them and have resisted and ridiculed every proposal to alter it.'

Tressell's bitterness and anger are mixed with compassion, sympathy, and a sharp sense of humor.... — JONAH RASKIN

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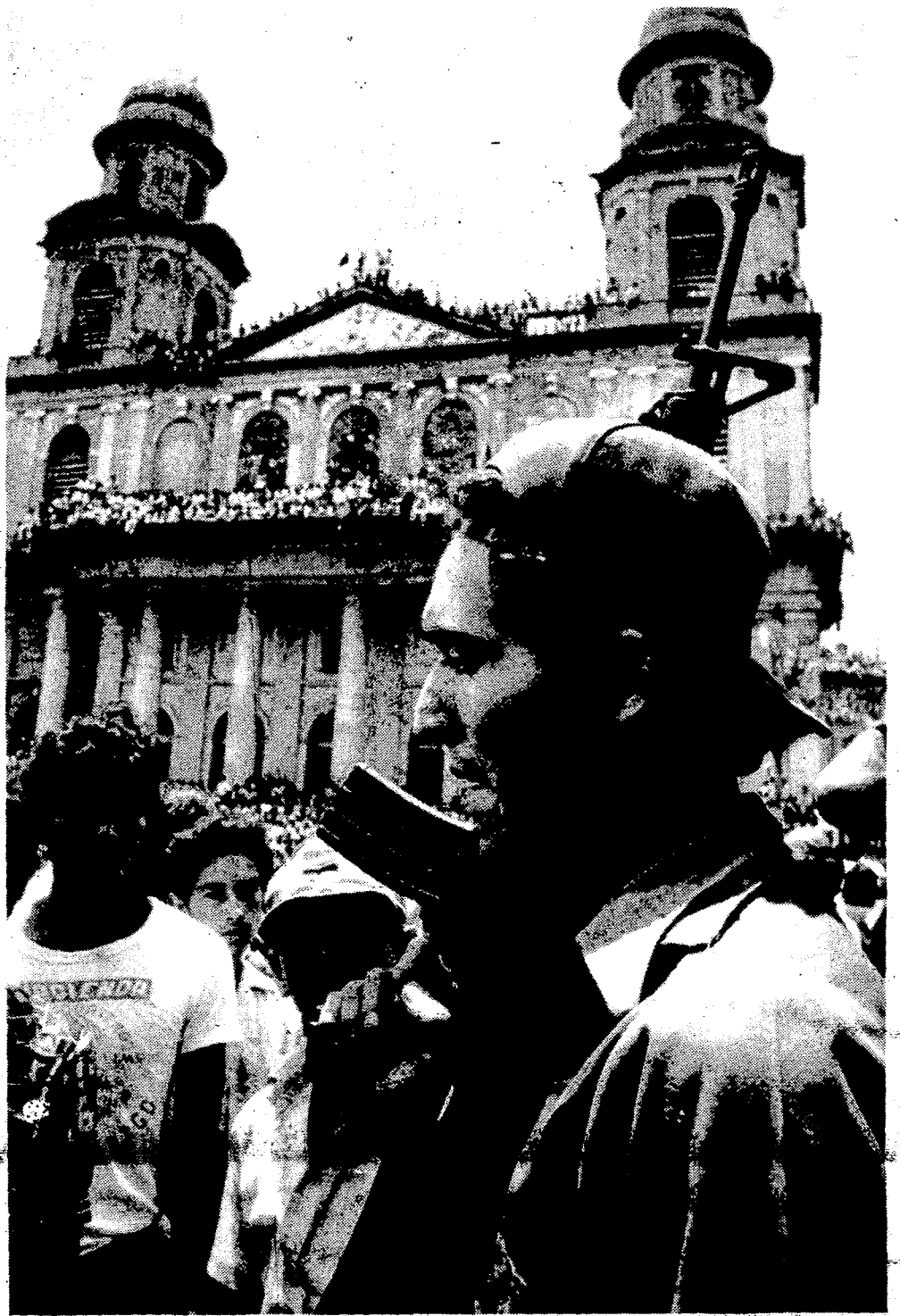


# IN FOCUS

## THE LIBERATION OF MANAGUA

*Photos by  
Marcelo Montecino*

*Upper left: Eden Pastora, "Comman-  
der Zero." Upper right: A Sandinista  
soldier being greeted in the city. Below:  
Managuans, joyously kissing the flag  
after liberation.*





By William Serrin

In the Middle West, on the High Plains and on the Columbia River in the Pacific Northwest, a mobile irrigation system is dramatically changing American agriculture.

Center pivot irrigation is extending farming to lands previously unsuited for it and changing the face of the land. But it is also adding to the nation's growing water and energy problems and expanding corporate agriculture at the expense of the family farmer and rancher.

Passengers on airlines and astronauts in space have seen the huge green disks, resembling giant poker chips, that the center pivot devices produce on land that may have been sparse pasture or desert.

The machines, which cost \$55,000 to \$75,000 each, consist of an aluminum sprinkler pipe, usually a quarter-mile long, that is mounted on rubber-wheeled towers and rotates automatically around a pivot. Powered by electricity, natural gas or diesel fuel, they generally complete a circle in twelve hours, laying down about an inch of man-made rain.

More than 10.7 million of the estimated 50 million irrigated acres in the United States are watered with about 86,000 of the devices, according to William E. Splinter, an expert on pivot irrigation at the University of Nebraska. Most have been installed from the Mississippi Valley westward, but they exist in 35 states, attracting immense corporate investment.

#### Using up water.

The spread of pivot irrigation, however, incurs a demand for more water—an already endangered resource. Agriculture, the nation's major water user, now accounts for more than 80 per cent of the annual water depletion in the country.

The systems operate continually during the growing season in many areas, including some in the Northwest where the water table has been sinking 40 feet a year. They are installed, essentially with no regulation, while Secretary of Agriculture Bob Bergland and other government leaders lament the growing water problem.

What's more, the systems often help produce crops that the country already grows in such abundance the government spends millions of dollars to reduce their production.

In the Northwest, notes Norman Whittlesey, an agricultural economist at Washington State University at Pullman, the government this year has been buying potatoes for use as cattle feed to maintain potato prices. Meanwhile, in Idaho, center pivots are dramatically increasing the potato crop.

The machines also consume enormous amounts of energy. As water tables recede, energy use must increase to produce the greater lift required to move water to the surface.

A typical system uses about 50 gallons of diesel fuel per acre per year in Nebraska to apply a typical amount of water, 22 inches, according to Splinter. This is about ten times the fuel needed for tilling, planting, cultivating and harvesting a crop such as corn, without irrigation, he says.

In the Pacific Northwest, where tens of thousands of acres are irrigated by center pivots, the machines draw off water that should be saved for hydroelectric power or the region's important fish industries, contends Whittlesey. In addition, he says, large amounts of energy are used to lift water 1,500 feet or so from the Columbia River and transport it to large farms 10 to 20 miles away—partly at smaller power users' expense.

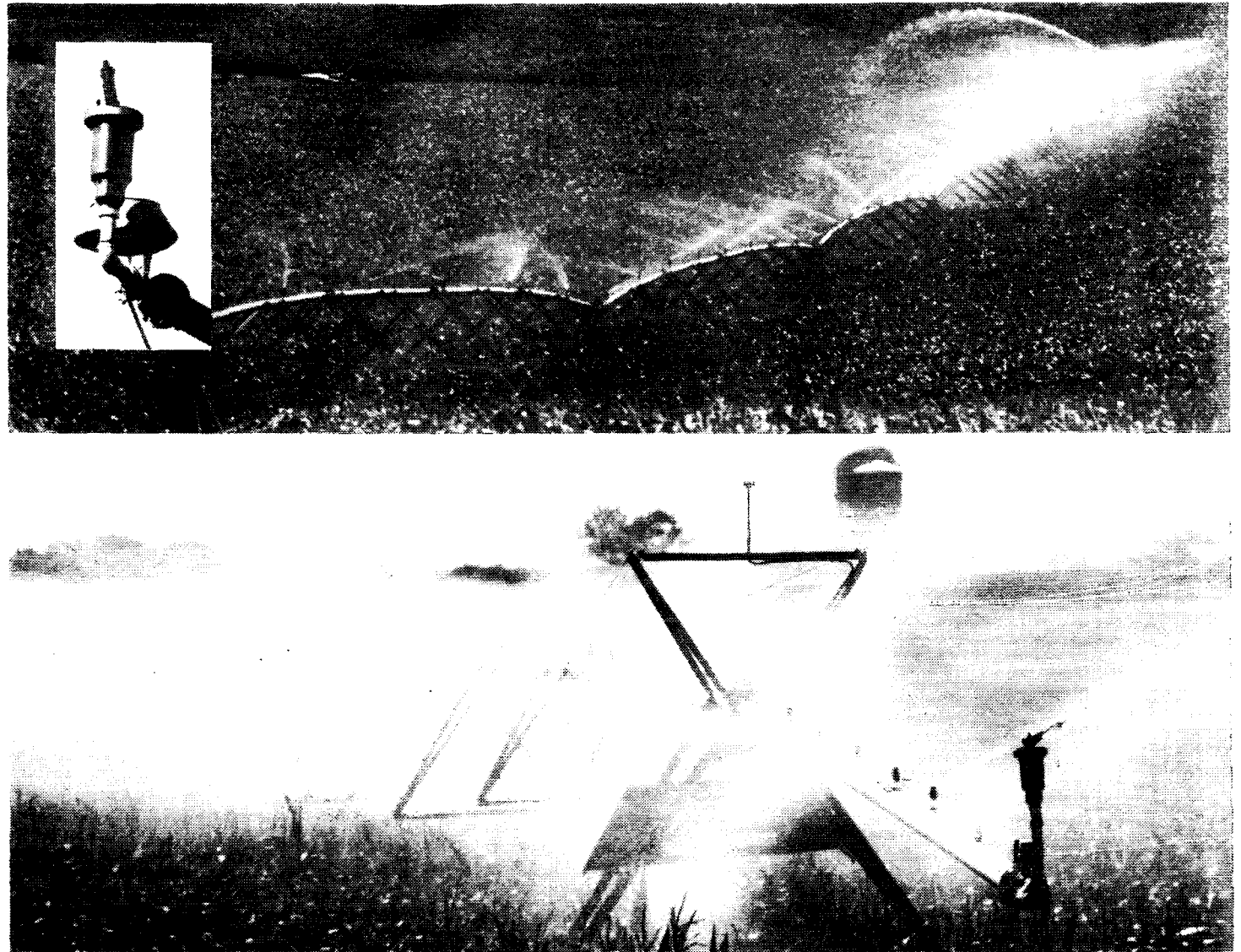
Because of preferential utility rates, says Whittlesey, smaller ratepayers subsidize the energy bills of the irrigators. He estimates that the subsidies average about \$200 per acre each year, \$100,000 for a 500-acre farm. He also contends that the power that is lost to irrigation can only be made up through construction of coal or nuclear plants. The cost of obtaining this new energy, he estimates, is ten to 15 times the cost of existing hydropower.

Pivot irrigation, as well as other large-scale technology that eliminates human labor and favors large farms over small ones, is nevertheless supported by the Department of Agriculture, the agricul-

# LIFE IN THE U.S.

## AMERICAN AGRICULTURE

### Irrigation dries up small farms



The pivot sprinkler arm moves in a circle to irrigate a 160 acre plot. The nozzle (insert) shoots out water to the corners the circle does not reach.

ture schools, experiment stations and the major farm press.

#### Big farmers only.

For decades lip service has been paid to the family farmer while the national policy has been to drive him out. The General Accounting Office, in a survey in 1978, suggested that government farm and tax policies, including those pertaining to irrigation practices, have harmed family farmers, reducing their numbers immensely.

The systems are inaccessible to smaller farmers because of their high cost. They have, however, attracted many absentee non-farm investors. In the Pacific Northwest, Boeing Company, Burlington Northern, Inc., and other corporations have installed pivot irrigation systems on huge tracts.

In Nebraska, where over a million acres are irrigated by pivot systems, they have led to "a vast introduction of absentee owners," according to Marty Strange of the Center for Rural Affairs, Walthill, Nebraska.

Sand hill land has been bought there for as little as \$25 an acre and irrigated with the machines, which can be used on soil that will not hold water from conventional irrigation systems. After collecting investment credit for putting in the system, investment companies have sold some of this land, ten years later, for \$850 an acre. The income is counted as capital gains.

Absentee owners turn over farming to management firms interested in maximum profits and having no particular stake in preserving the local economy or ecology.

Because trees get in the way of the machines, they are cut down—trees planted in the 1930s and 40s as shelter belts because the sandy land is subject to wind erosion.

Since the sandy soil does not retain either water or nitrogen, both are applied heavily. This has led to a serious drop in water tables and a rise in ground water nitrate levels in Nebraska.

(© Pacific News Service)

## WHITE HAND

The chain saw bites into the wood: the faller is making the undercut then his back cut. And when the tree is felled it is bucked to length, limbed, and later the rigging crew hauls it out to a landing. Danger is everywhere: the rotten tops of snags, or when a cable unexpectedly tightens or parts, or a log slips from the grapple and rolls. Shadowed by death, the log is carried by truck and then perhaps to the world of water: boomsticks and swifters and chains, and on to the mills.

But in the green brush two hands stay on the chain saw for months. The chain cuts into the wood, the heavy saw is lifted in, jams, is worked free and lifted into the cut again, for years. The constant motion of the engine, the chain, is sawing too at the smallest of blood vessels and nerves: as in the guts of a cat operator, what in the hand of this man is shaking free cannot grow back: white hand, they call it, the hand gone permanently numb, useless...

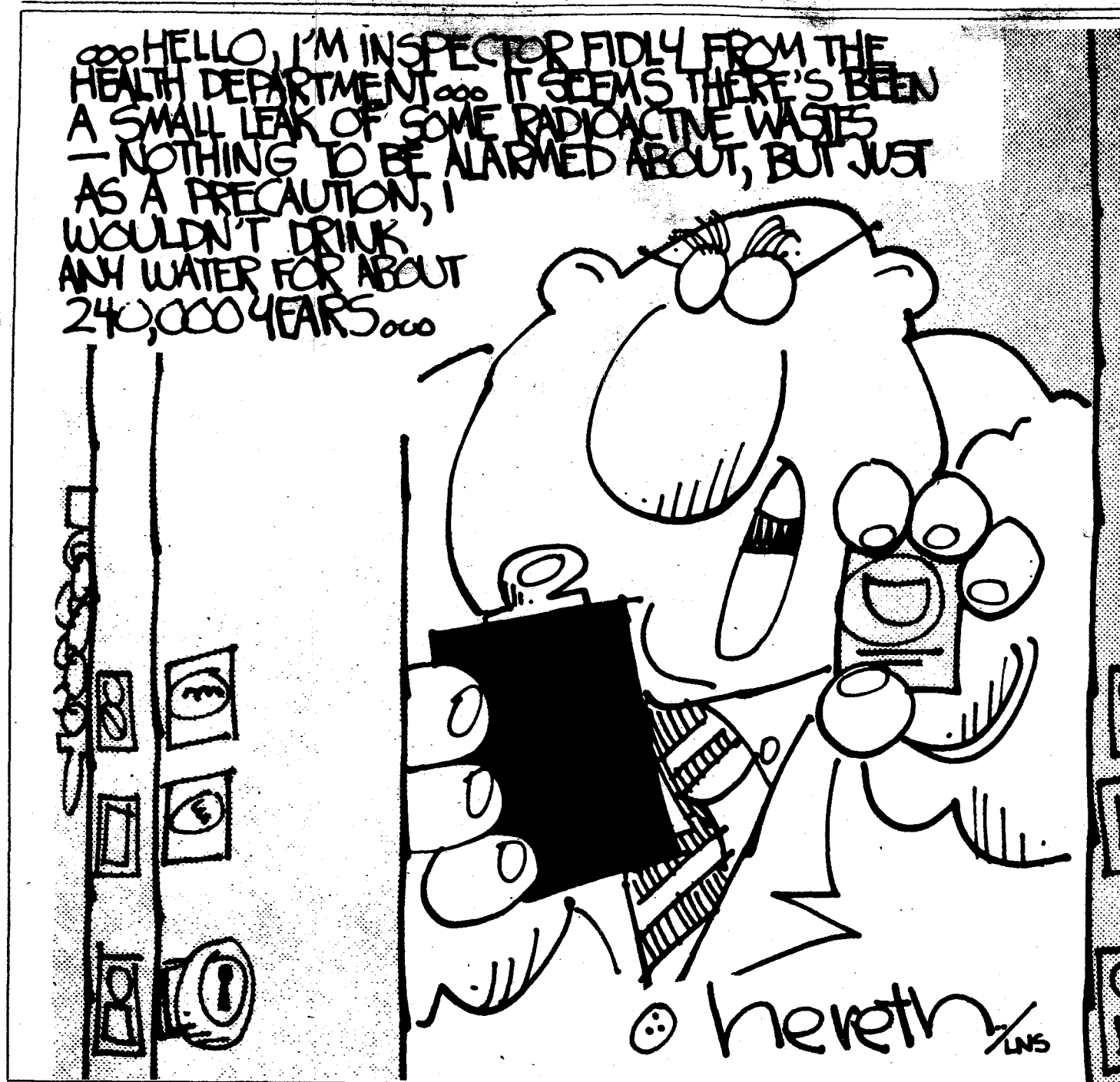
I take a sheet of paper and place its sharp corners in my typewriter roller and turn it, and around the roller, facing my keys, appears first the tip of a man's middle finger, then the tops of the others, so I type the poem on the palm of a man's hand, a brother's: white page white hand

—Tom Wayman

Tom Wayman is a Canadian poet; his most recent book is *Money and Rain*. He has also edited several collections of poetry about work.



## URANIUM TAILINGS



## Burst dam spills nuclear waste

By Christopher McLeod

CHURCH ROCK, N. M.

This high desert country of red rock cliffs and open sky—home to Navajo Indians and hundreds of uranium miners—is the unlikely site of America's latest nuclear "event."

Early on the morning of July 16th—the morning after President Carter made his comprehensive energy speech without ever mentioning nuclear power—an earthen dam at United Nuclear Corporation's uranium mill split open and released 100 million gallons of acidic, radioactive water into the Rio Puerco, a tributary of the Little Colorado River. The water flashflooded through Gallup, New Mexico, overflowing the river bank in several places, and went 50 miles into Arizona before it was absorbed into the bed of the dry desert wash.

Eleven hundred tons of radioactive mud, rocks and sand—the waste products of uranium milling—also escaped through the 20-foot breach in the 6,000-foot long dam. Clean-up crews using buckets and shovels as well as bulldozers have been able to retrieve only 140 tons of the escaped material for return to the "tailings pond." The rest has washed down the Rio Puerco.

The New Mexico Environmental Improvement Division (EID), immediately issued a "hazard warning" to the 21,000 residents of Gallup 10 miles downstream from the mill. The local population has been warned not to drink the water from the river and to keep their animals away from the contaminated area. EID test results show high levels of radioactive thorium 230, uranium, radium and lead in Rio Puerco water, and the EID awaits the results of 30 soil samples taken on the day of the spill.

The EID has shut down the United Nuclear mill until the spill has been satisfactorily cleaned up and the cause of the breach is determined. Tom Buhl, of

the EID's radiation unit, estimated the mill will remain closed "for weeks, maybe months." There has been no official explanation of the cause of the dam's failure.

**Official calm.**

Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) official Hubert Miller, who is monitoring the accident for the NRC, says, "It appears to be one of the most severe dam failures to occur, in terms of consequences." However, Miller did not expect any health impacts after the spill is cleaned-up.

"Mill tailings are not the kind of thing we had at Three Mile Island," he says. "It's different, by orders of magnitude, in potential health effects. Mill-tailings are only low-level radiation. It's stuff that has to be contained, but it's stuff that's in your backyard. You've got uranium and radium and thorium in ordinary soil. In this case its 500 times more concentrated, but it's not millions like in a reactor."

Gallup mayor Wayne Lewis says the public reaction to the dam break has been hardly noticeable. "We've worked around this stuff for 30 years," he says. "We live with it all the time, and no one has been greatly concerned about it."

Nevertheless, waste material from uranium mining is one of the largest and least publicized waste disposal problems in the entire nuclear fuel cycle. The uranium ore mined at Church Rock contains only .2 per cent uranium. The rest of the rock material—3,800 tons a day containing 85 per cent of the original radioactivity in the form of radium—are the "tailings."

Uranium tailings have traditionally been disposed of by piling them around the mill. In the 50s and 60s, Navajos were encouraged to build houses and schools out of tailings materials, until health officials began to note an increase in Indian cancer rates. Today, most tailings are eventually either buried or covered

to prevent the escape of radon gas.

There are 140 million tons of tailings around the United States, representing the largest mass of radioactive material in the country. And, like reactor waste, the tailings will be dangerous for hundreds of thousands of years.

**Public concern.**

The Church Rock spill could have a profound impact on the future plans for uranium development in northwestern New Mexico, where there is growing

public apprehension about the environmental impact of uranium mining.

The Church Rock area, known as the Grants uranium belt, supplies about half of the United States uranium supply for reactors, weapons and export. There are already 34 uranium mines and 5 mills in the area, and with the recent jump in the price of uranium from \$6 a pound in 1972 to more than \$55 a pound in 1979, another round of uranium fever is under way. The Department of the Interior has called it "the hottest uranium exploration spot in the United States." Exxon, Mobil, Phillips, Kerr-McGee and United Nuclear have drilled 35,000 exploratory holes in the desert. Up to 75 new mines and 20 new mills may open in the next decade.

The tailings pond spill, however, could have a profound impact on these plans. Until now, opposition to uranium development has come primarily from the Navajos, under whose land most of the undeveloped uranium is buried. One hundred local Navajos have joined with Friends of the Earth to file suit against every agency in the United States government involved in the production of "yellowcake," as the processed uranium is called. The list includes the Departments of Energy, Interior and Agriculture, the NRC, the EPA, and the Tennessee Valley Authority.

The plaintiffs claim that the agencies have violated the National Environmental Act (NEPA) by failing to prepare national, regional and site-specific Environmental Impact Statements for the proposed uranium development north of Church Rock. NEPA requires environmental impact statements for all "major federal actions significantly affecting the quality of the human environment."

The suit claims that the new mines will use about 40,000 acre feet of water a year, lowering the water table 150 feet and endangering local drinking water. It also charges that mine vents and tailings piles will discharge radioactive radon gas into the atmosphere for decades.

Battle lines have already formed in Church Rock over the suit. Those tied to the uranium business for their livelihood have formed the Energy Association of Taxpayers to fight the suit. EAT chairman Ignacio Salazar, a driller, says that if the Navajos are successful, "We could be shut down for 15 or 20 years while the government considers all those impact statements. It could be a disaster, not only for us, but for the entire country."

Navajos and Hopi who live in the area point out that the Church Rock dam broke just one hour before preliminary hearings in the case were to begin in Washington. In addition, the Navajos contend that uranium development will bring 50,000 more whites to the area, threatening the traditional Indian culture.

(©Pacific News Service)

for the network's gloomy prospects.

Even if it did have some hot series in the works, the laws of scheduling would preclude their being aired, given the network's weak line-up. As Fred Silverman recently explained to a gathering of advertisers and their agencies, "When you introduce half-hour comedies, it behooves you to put those comedies in a very safe position in the schedule. To throw a couple of comedies on the schedule opposite a *Charlie's Angels* or *Happy Days* or *Love Boat* is suicide. I think that if we can't learn some lessons from mistakes that we've made in the past, then the whole process becomes very silly."

Of course, some observers would claim that the scheduling process itself is rather silly. Programs are brought on air not because they provide "flow" to the night's programming, or because they "hammock" nicely with existing shows. And the networks are increasingly reluctant to experiment with new program formats.

Each ratings point in prime-time network TV now translates into some \$35 million in annual revenues. With such high stakes, the networks are impatient for a return on their investment. Even though the average-series now costs about \$300,000 per half-hour segment to produce, series that don't prove themselves early are not likely to get much opportunity to build a following gradually.

## Fall TV

Continued from back page

The network is also revising the way it positions its new programs. Last year, the network sought to head off ABC through "counterprogramming"—airing shows that attract a different audience than do the competition's offerings. Last fall, for instance, it aired the critically-acclaimed *Paper Chase* opposite *Happy Days* and *Laverne & Shirley*, in an effort to siphon off viewers unimpressed with ABC's pitch to adolescents. This season, however, it is going after what Grant succinctly terms the "ABC audience"—teenagers and women 18-49 years old. *Paper Chase*'s place will be taken by *California Fever*. And ABC's saccharine *Eight Is Enough* will be countered by *Working Stiffs* and *The Last Resort*, sitcoms of the most sophomoric kind.

**No way to play.**

And what of NBC? Sy Amlen, ABC vice president for entertainment, says that "NBC doesn't even enter the picture at the present time." NBC's ability to engage in schedule-juggling is limited, given the few successful shows it has to juggle. It is offering no new sitcoms this fall—which is perhaps the chief reason



## ART &amp; ENTERTAINMENT

## BOOKS

## How the union came to be in Harlan County

WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON?  
THE HARLAN COUNTY  
COAL MINERS, 1901-89.

By John H. Hevener  
University of Illinois Press, \$10.95

By Don Reid

Florence Reece's rendition of "Which Side Are You On?" in Barbara Kopple's film, *Harlan County, U.S.A.*, is a stirring reminder that Harlan County Miners have fought for a union contract before. As John Hevener points out in his new book, *Which Side Are You On?*, understanding what has happened in Harlan in the past helps ex-

plain the situation of Harlan's miners in the seventies. In a clear and straightforward manner, Hevener chronicles the repeated attempts during the 30s to unionize the region's miners. He concludes that pressure exerted by Washington was the key element in the UMW's eventual success in Harlan County.

Harlan County's rich coal deposits remained unexploited until the twentieth century. The mining industry grew in leaps and bounds during the teens and 20s and by the next decade 40-odd companies were extracting coal in the county. Operators paid lower wages than their competitors and used their economic and political clout to keep out the UMW. In the 20s and 30s three strikes of Harlan County's production came from "captive mines," owned by outside coal consumers like Ford and International Harvester.

Sanitary and medical conditions were abysmal. A county board of health was not established until 1942, when it was discovered that more than one-third of the county's first class of drafters suffered from venereal disease. Violence marked local life. Even before the strikes of the 30s spread its reputation as "Bloody Harlan" nationwide, the county boasted the nation's highest homicide rate.

The mines were staffed with men drawn from poor farms in the area. Many workers lived in company housing, which was taken away from them if they attempted to unionize, and shop-kept at company stores. A substantial percentage of the Harlan County miners and miners' families were poor.

The violence that resurfaced in this era of economic decline was not restricted to management/worker confrontations. Officials of the UMW's District 19, which includes Harlan County, helped to plan and finance the murder of UMW president Tony Boyle's opponent, Joseph A. "Jock" Yablonski. The rejuvenation of the UMW in the area has not been easy; the Brookside strike of 1973-1974 filmed by Barbara Kopple was a significant step in the reorganization of Harlan's miners.

The deputies were supplemented by company detectives, directed by an unsavory deputy with the expressive name of Ben Unthank. Murders during the 1931 strike

of Harlan County. The sheriff had 170 deputies: most acted as mineguards and received their salaries from the companies. After her house had been raided by Sheriff J.H. Blair's deputies, Florence Reece expressed her anger in a song:

*If you go to Harlan County  
There is no neutral there.  
You'll either be a union man  
Or a thug for J.H. Blair.  
Which side are you on?  
Which side are you on?*

## How and why.

Hevener's study raises several questions for future research about the place of the union in Harlan County society. In explaining why early organizing efforts failed, Hevener presents a portrait of the typical Harlan miner of the 20s: "A first-generation industrial worker drawn from the impoverished hillside farms of the surrounding region, he possessed a fiercely independent spirit and had not yet accepted the idea of permanent working-class status. The new housing and bustling activity of the coal camp was superior to the isolated mountain cabin he had fled." Under the impact of the Depression, the appeal of the company-based community wore thin and workers strove to organize themselves.

What role did the union play in this regrouping process? Hevener suggests an answer when discussing Harlan County's abnormally high homicide rate. He attributes the region's violence to the breakdown of the family during the transition from agriculture to mining. Through such strike tactics as picketing, armed marches and the dynamiting of mine machinery, "the union... presents itself as a viable, powerful institution, impressing some and intimidating others... Such activities give every striker a role to play and bolster morale."

It appears that the union help-

ed to create the basis for a new community in Harlan County, but the mechanism behind this process remains unclear. In particular, we get little idea of what happened within union locals in Harlan County.

Did the UMW introduce new values into the community or reinforce existing ones? In what ways did the UMW, strong among recent immigrants in the North, have to adapt to life in Harlan County? Was there a change in the Harlan miners' view of their position in America as a result of the strikes of the thirties? Despite the existence of several "captive mines" in Harlan County, Harlan mine operators and a good number of their

workers saw the UMW in the 20s as an institution that defended the interests of northern mines and miners. How did the Depression and the establishment of the UMW in Harlan in the 30s alter local miners' views of themselves as workers and as Americans?

Hevener's coverage of individual strikes and the formation of the union is both engrossing and important. The writing is exciting and fast-paced as well. But although Hevener offers an explanation of the dynamics of Harlan County society before unionization, he presents only a sketchy picture of the results of the establishment of the UMW on local mining communities. ■



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## CULTURE SHOCK

—one for herself and one for her dog.

**WHEN DO THE QUESTS**

**BOOZE TUBE**

consumed every 21 minutes on television. And the drinking is heaviest during situation comedies.

**HUMAN NEW BARE**

The New York Times reports the latest findings in the "Balding" study. Be careful, you may lose your hair.



## BROADCASTING

# Public interest is in the mind of the broadcaster, says FCC

By Rose K. Goldsen

In return for the privilege of operating the public's airwaves, broadcasters agree to choose programs that serve the public interest, a term which has been interpreted in some rather strange ways. When Frank Stanton was president of CBS, he said he thought "a program in which a large part of the public is interested is, by that very fact, in the public interest." As chairman of the board of NBC's parent company, RCA, David Sarnoff could not understand what the fuss was all about. "I don't think that anyone has ever proved bad tv is harmful," he said.

Worthy to be included with these little gems is a definition in a recent issue of *Broadcasting* magazine (July 16). "Whatever programming a broadcaster provides is, by definition, in the public interest." This view was

attributed not to a broadcaster, but to a career civil servant in the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), now chief of their Broadcast Bureau.

He's Richard J. Shiben, and when I called to check whether he had been quoted correctly, he said he had. He added that his comment did not represent official FCC policy—at least, not yet. He said that at a recent meeting the staff began to explore possible legal justifications for canceling the regulations that now apply to radio broadcasting, and that this was just one idea he'd thrown out for discussion. "It has the advantage of opening the door to deregulation," he said. Broadcast license-holders are members of the public, he explained, so "in view of the multiplicity of broadcasters, decisions they make could be viewed as one definition of the public interest."

Shiben acknowledged that peo-

ple who own and operate radio and TV stations represent a narrow segment of this country's many interests and interest groups. Even so, "broadcasters get good feedback from the public. Unless they choose programs that please the public, they'd lose their audience and that means they'd go broke."

I asked Shiben about four guidelines suggested in an internal FCC document known as "The Blue Book." Broadcasters would be presumed to serve the public interest if they provide reasonable time for programs using local, live talent, programs that probe public issues, and programs that allow "unfettered artistic self-expression," even if they can't get advertiser support. The fourth Blue Book guideline concerns commercials. Broadcasters would be asked to show at license-renewal time that they have kept advertising to the limits they promised to ob-

serve when they filed their original application for a license.

The FCC never officially adopted these Blue Book standards, and with rare exceptions it continues to grant license renewals virtually automatically, as it has for the past four decades. "The Blue Book" has been around since March 1946, and every now and then someone down there in Washington still

makes a move as if to revive it.

Shiben seemed impatient when I brought up the subject. "The Blue Book"—that's just history," he said. "I can't be concerned with something that happened way back in 1946."

That is a strange attitude on the part of a law school graduate, now serving as a high official in the agency that's supposed to administer a law passed in 1934. ■

## Why networks kept the Family Hour

SEE NO EVIL

By Geoffrey Cowan  
Simon & Schuster, \$10.95.

By Chris Johnson

For the fall television season of 1975, the three networks instituted a new policy called the Family Hour, which meant that all programs broadcast in the time period of 8 to 9 p.m. (7 to 8 in the Midwest) had to be suitable for viewing by children. Later that same year, the guilds representing television writers, directors, and actors brought suit against the Federal Communications Commission and the networks, charging that the Family Hour had resulted from government pressure and therefore violated the First Amendment. In this book, Geoffrey Cowan, who was a legal consultant for the Writers Guild during the resulting trial, tells why the Family Hour was instituted and why it was challenged in court.

The story starts in the early 70s, when pressure from the public and Congress was growing on FCC chairman Richard E. Wiley to do something about the rising tide of violence and sexual innuendo on TV. On November 7, 1974, Wiley met with executives from CBS, NBC, and ABC and made a not-too-veiled threat that unless the networks took some kind of action, they could have problems having their station licenses renewed by the FCC. By the spring of 1975, all

three networks had agreed to the Family Hour, which was originally the idea of CBS president Arthur Taylor.

The consequences were unforeseen, but not surprising. Instead of ridding the tube of violent cop shows, which were all pushed back to later time slots, the Family Hour diluted quality programs like *All in the Family*, *M\*A\*S\*H*, and *Barney Miller*. Writers found they could not deal honestly with controversial sexual, political, or religious themes, even in the most tasteful terms.

As a result, the Writers Guild initiated a suit that was joined by the Directors Guild and the Screen Actors Guild, and on November 4, 1976, Judge Warren Ferguson threw out the Family Hour, stating that the FCC had indeed exerted pressure on the networks to adopt the policy. However, the networks were free to readopt the Family Hour on their own, and all three did so.

Cowan shows how power is wielded in the television industry, the process by which programming decisions are made, and the role that profit plays in those decisions. He also discusses the problems of ensuring First Amendment rights for broadcasters in a medium as pervasive and powerful as television. He never examines, however, the problems of ensuring all of our First Amendment rights when the airwaves are run for corporate profit. ■



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## MOVIES

# Summer of working-class discontent

By Pat Aufderheide

You can wait all summer for That Movie, the in-the-dark equivalent of going to the beach. It's disposable, but likeable, because it's about real people.

Each summer the studios throw a large handful of light entertainment on the market, depending on a public inability to concentrate. And each year there's one that's more than an excuse for air conditioning, that shows how good movies can be in the unpretentious middle range. In past years movies like *Foul Play*, *Car Wash*, *Bingo Long and the Travelling All-Stars* and *Motor Kings*, and *Think Dirty!* have all been excellent reasons to keep watching the wide screen.

This year began poorly, with the new James Bond film, *Moonraker*, surfacing as a dull rehash of old routines. As the summer heated up, the movies didn't. *Meatballs*, aka *National Lampoon goes to Summer Camp*, could have had a tang of social critique like *Animal House* had, but it didn't. *Americathon*, a topical spoof by the *Tunnelvision* people on current crises, was a stupid set of bad jokes done adequately. *Dracula*, with Frank Langella playing the lead for sex appeal, should have been whopping good fun, but the film was reverential to vampire films gone by, and came out bloodless.

And then came *Breaking Away* (20th Century Fox). It didn't look like much. The summer of four young men's working-class discontent, focusing on a bike race in which the Bloomington townies try to show up the Indiana University gownies. Bike racing? Male bonding? Small town summer? Yawn.

No. The film, directed by English director and Hollywood vet Peter Yates (*Bullitt*, *The Deep*) with a surprising respect for the actors' abilities and for the cultural accuracy of Steve Tesich's script, holds our attention throughout, without ever making us realize we're concentrating.

The hero is Dave (Dennis Christopher), the odd smart one in a gang of four unemployed 19-year-olds. The others are tough dumb Mike (Dennis Quaid), goofy wit Cyril (Daniel Stern), and small, serious, luckless Moocher (Jackie Earle Haley, the wonderful tough kid from *Bad News Bears*).

Each of the young men has

**These four small-town musketeers battle their college rivals with bikes.**

his chosen reaction to being working-class, unemployed and young in a college town. Dave's is to pretend he's an Italian bike racer, complete with accent and Italian facial and hand gestures. His racing ability, the group's mutual loyalty, and their self-respect are tested in two bike races. Through them, Dave learns that you can't dodge the real world by pretending to be somebody else. And goodness triumphs over all.

The resolution is pure sitcom, and there are unfortunate moments that glare in a feature film, because their mechanical formulations are suited to a 27-minute format with laugh-track. But

dialog and character carry even these moments. The conflict central to the film—town vs. gown—is a genuine social one, and the characters are achingly familiar.

Mike, for instance, explains why he, the high school quarterback, hates watching college football. Each year, he says, there will be a new hero, and it'll never be him. All his life he'll be nobody—"I'm just gonna be 'Mike.' 20 year old 'Mike.' 30 year old 'Mike.' Crazy old man 'Mike.'" It horrifies not because you know he's right, but because you know he knows, already. When Dave's father (Paul Dooley) returns to his old workplace, the stone quarry, his chat with old buddies and his token work show us his deep pride in that job. Dave's mother (Barbara Barrie) displays both quiet strength and hoarded idiosyncrasies. Her situations, e.g. an argument over a low-fat diet for her husband, have no Hollywood gloss to them.

Where did anybody in Hollywood learn this much about small town life?

The problem—that these boys must make their decisions to settle for so little in plain sight of wealth and upward mobility—is central, but never schematic. The conflicts are always local, immediate, rooted in particular circumstances of family and place.

Along with the social conflict, we see the loyalty of these friends to each other. They are four musketeers. They protect each other; they love each other. This spectacle of men-being-men-

together does not grate, because it's so accurate. We see how their friendship works—how their characters are complementary and that they share a history. We see as well the limitations of their camaraderie—they avoid finding a job together; they stay kids together; they pretend together that they won't follow different paths as they grow up.

The success of the film is in the believability of the working-class characters and their behavior with each other. The moments in which conflict with the college kids becomes overt spur the plot. But the meat of the film is in the ethnographic small-town American immediacy of those four boys and their restless, good-hearted lives.

## Guindon



"Have you seen a Frisbee?"

## There's no business like it

•Mr. Clean: Harry Reems, the porno actor who was one of the defendants in a suit brought by Memphis prosecutor Larry Parrish against *Deep Throat*, has been cast in a non-porno film described as a "ribald comedy." He plays the head man of a vice squad in a major city.

•Mr. Decency: Meanwhile, Larry Parrish, who had counted on publicity from his anti-porno campaign to go into politics, has been unable to find backers among the "decency crowd" to fund a mayoral campaign.

•Love New York: Members of the Gay Activist Alliance and actors and others involved in theater and film production have been demonstrating in

New York during production of William (Exorcist, Sorcerer) Friedkin's film, *Cruising*. Gays claim that the film, which concerns a series of homosexual murders and has a brutal reputation, is hostile to gays. Demonstrators hope that the ruckus will raise costs of production so that, at least, the film's location would have to be changed.

•Yum Yum Eat 'Em Up: One of the two original disco recording companies, TK Productions (the other is Casablanca), has dropped several workers from its payroll. TK's business has been hurt by the disco lines introduced by major recording companies.

—Pat Aufderheide



# TV's Fall Line-up

*The real drama is off the air*

By Michael Massing

Another new TV season is almost upon us, and as usual, the fall's drama will appear not on our screens but in the weekly unfolding of the ratings sweepstakes.

Will ABC be able to add to the hits that have entrenched it as the dominant network over the last four years? Can CBS regain the touch that, throughout the late 1960s and early 1970s, made it the "Tiffany's" of television, as it then liked to refer to itself? And will Fred Silverman finally be able to extricate NBC from the programming mess that has kept that network mired in the ratings cellar?

The advertising agencies have already placed their bets, and the smart money is riding on another ABC triumph. Ted Bates & Co., for instance, sees only a slight shift from last year's Nielsen tally, which produced a 19.7 rating for ABC, 18.7 for CBS and 17.0 for NBC. The agency foresees a slight decline for both ABC and NBC and a maintenance of last year's level for CBS.

The prospect of minimal change in the ratings reflects the lack of risk-taking that characterizes the upcoming fall schedules. Of the score of new series, few diverge from formulas that have proved successful in the past.

CBS offers a bevy of "youth-oriented" programs targeted at ABC's strength among young adults. Representative of the lot is *Working Stiffs*, a sitcom about two incompetent teenagers working as office janitors; it demonstrates that commercial TV can make blue-collar life as fleshless as airline stewardesses' sex lives.

Vying with it for lemon honors is *California Fever*, an adventure series featuring sun-kissed Orange County teenagers whose vocabulary is limited to "What's happenin'?" and "Later, man." Tiffany's, indeed.

At NBC, Fred Silverman and his programming disciples studied some 35 pilots for possible new series; the six selected for reviewers' screening include a James Bond spin-off (*The Man Called Sloane*), a *Star Wars* spin-off (*Buck Rogers in the 25th Century*) and an imitation of ABC's popular series *Eight is Enough* (*Shirley*). Among programs pitched to the adult crowd is a serialization of *From Here to Eternity*, building on last season's miniseries, which itself seemed less a portrayal of the James Jones novel than a screening of "Natalie Wood Goes Hawaiian."

ABC's new offerings appear most promising, from both a competitive and critical perspective. A network enjoying a sizable ratings lead can avoid the whirlwind sprint through the endless pilots that more desperate programmers find inescapable. With fewer holes to plug, the network can devote more attention to fewer projects.

Among ABC's more interesting new series is *The Lazarus Syndrome*, which presents a greater slice of realism than is customary for the networks, in this case through a dramatic look at hospital life. The relationship between the hospital's two main power-brokers, a black surgeon and a white newspaperman who enters the hospital as the surgeon's ward and is eventually asked to stay on as the institution's chief administrator, is central.

As for new ABC sitcoms, *Benson* is a funny spin-off of *Soap* featuring a black butler (played by *Soap*'s Robert Guillaume) who, hired to run the mansion of a humane but soft-headed Eastern governor, ends up as his chief political adviser. If any hit emerges from the fall schedule, *Benson* could be it.



*The Lazarus Syndrome gives us more realism than usual; characters from Shirley (right) and From Here to Eternity give us only more of the same.*

Predicting new hits, of course, is one of TV's least promising exercises. Last year, for instance, *Mork & Mindy* far outstripped ABC's modest expectations to become the season's runaway success. Rather than leave their destinies to the wind, the networks have enlisted other, time-honored tactics in their ratings war-gaming.

"Ninety percent of the successful programs on TV succeed because of where they've been scheduled," says Michael Dann, former programming whiz at CBS and now a consultant for Warner Cable. Scheduling tactics have dominated the networks' plotting for the fall season since planning sessions began last winter.

There are certain groundrules of the game:

- Nine p.m. is the anchor of each night's line-up—its "ridgepole," in the image current in the industry. Strong ridgepoles buttress programs aired both before and after the 9 p.m. slot.

- Ridgepoles, however, can't do it alone; they need vigorous "lead-ins" from the preceding hour, since viewers will more often than not leave their TV dials where they are. It has been estimated that every three points of ratings advantage before 9 p.m. will translate into a one-point edge for the program beginning at that time.

- Each evening's schedule is greater than the sum of its parts. Successful nights usually have a "flow" to their programming, a uniformity of appeal. One night might be "female," another more "male" in its orientation.

- A new comedy's chances of success are boosted if it can be "hammocked"—slotted between two established hits. Conversely, a pair of popular sitcoms should be separated only after each has demonstrated it is capable of standing on its own.

## Juggling success.

Sitcoms are the protein in the prime-time diet. The value of sitcoms helps explain ABC's scheduling strategy for the fall season.

Taking what some industry observers regard as a substantial risk, the network is breaking up the programming blocks that have proved such formidable ratings workhorses in the past. *Mork & Mindy*, which provided ABC such a strong lead-in on Thursday nights last year, is being siphoned away to 8 p.m. Sunday (Eastern time). ABC expects *Mork* to shore up its Sunday night performance, which in past seasons has been outpaced by CBS.

At the same time, *Mork*'s transfer could create a dangerous gap in the valuable territory at 8 p.m. Thursday, providing CBS and NBC the opportunity to shoehorn their way in for the entire evening. So ABC has substituted *Laverne & Shirley*, another top-rated program. ABC has been cautious in nurturing that program about two brewery workers in Milwaukee, allowing it to build its audience gradually in the 8:30 Tuesday slot, where it benefitted from the huge lead-in provided by *Happy Days*.

Now, having proved its own drawing power, *Laverne & Shirley* is being asked to repay its debt. In the opening time period on Thursday, the program is expected to provide support for the rest of the network's line-up that night, including *Benson*, which will premiere on Laverne's coattails at 8:30. The spot left vacant after *Happy Days* on Tuesdays is being filled with a new sitcom, *Nobody's Perfect*, which details the bumbling adventures of an eccentric Scotland Yard detective assigned to work with the San Francisco police department.

To Bud Grant, CBS vice president for programs, ABC's jockeying represents a real "gamble." "Just because *Laverne & Shirley* does well between *Happy Days* and *Three's Company* is not to say it will do as well on Thursday nights," says Grant. "And I can guarantee *Mork & Mindy* won't get the same share on Sundays as it does on Thursdays."

## Don't rock the boat.

CBS's strategy is to rock its own boat as little as possible. Of the 16 CBS series returning from last year, 15 are slated for the same time slots. "Because there's been so much schedule churning in the last few years, we felt there should be some stability," says Grant.

*Continued on page 20.*

**"Ninety percent of the successful TV programs succeed because of where they're scheduled," says one programmer. The planners talk of "ridgepoles," "female nights," and "hammocking."**